

**Sensing the Rhythms of a Dynamic City-**  
**An interpretation on the form and content of the streetscape of**  
**Taipei**

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**Ph D**

**The University of Edinburgh**  
**2002**



## **Declaration**

This thesis is an original work researched and composed by Hsiao-Wei Lin.

All of the normal conditions pertaining to thesis at the University of Edinburgh are applicable.



## **Acknowledgements**

I gratefully acknowledge the invaluable help of the following people during the production of this thesis. First and foremost, I wish to thank my supervisors, Professor Iain Boyd Whyte and Dr. Mark Dorrian, whose intellectual insights, have made this study fulfilling and inspiring. I would like to thank the staff and my colleagues in the Department of Architecture at the University of Edinburgh for providing a stimulating and supportive environment, and should particularly mention Dr. Clive Fenton for his enormous support with discussions and for proof reading, and Pang Chuan Wang for his help in improving the quality of illustrations.

I also wish to acknowledge Professor Jui-Mao Hwang and Professor Raman for their help in the early stages of my study, and the following people who assisted by either granting me interviews, or providing information:

Chung-Chieh Lin, Chi-Feng Pei, and Wei-Ping Lu (Division of Urban Design, Bureau of Urban Development, Taipei City Government), John S. Liaw (Cultural Affairs Bureau of Taipei, Taipei City Government), Nan-Chou (Chris) Su, and Pi-Yun Lu (Metropolitan Development Association, Taipei), Ming-Kang Liang and Dr. Stuart Aiken (University of Edinburgh), Zuiyu Chen (Tongji University), Jullian Cheng (Chung-Hsin University), and Shan-Sung Wang (Architecture and Building Research Institute, Taipei).

I have been fortunate in receiving encouragement or funding for conference papers over the duration of my studies, and would like to thank the Kress Foundation, the Savannah College of Art and Design, the University of Washington, the National University of Singapore, the Taipei Representative Centre in UK, the University of Edinburgh's Development Trust for their support.

Finally, I would like to thank my family, Jens and his family, for their constant support and encouragement during my joyful years in Edinburgh.

## ABSTRACT

This thesis analyses the notions of historical and physical authenticity as applied to the contemporary cityscape. I propose that the criteria of authenticity can be established through study of the social interaction within the cityscape. Authenticity reveals itself as the spatial reflection of the lived experience of the city's inhabitants.

Following the liberalization of politics and the media in 1987, Taiwan has become a maze of competing and conflicting ideologies and visual images. The cityscape of Taipei reflects this political and social change, making it difficult to distinguish between the authentic substructure and simulacrum. In such a complex environment, people cling to the concept of authenticity in order to retain their sense of identity. Taipei has therefore been chosen as a case study to examine how such historical, economic, social, political, and cultural factors impact on the transformation of urban environment.

Shopping streets provide the best illustration of the conflict and negotiation between global and local culture in contemporary cities. They stimulate and witness a dialogue between historicism and capitalism. Asian cities, such as Singapore, Hong Kong and Taipei, express the adoption of Western market economies and the trend toward political liberalisation and democratisation in their modern architecture and lifestyle. Their cityscapes have undergone drastic urbanisation and become non-places, as a characterless and universal commercial culture has dominated the production of urban space. Their streetscapes, however, apparently so "inauthentic", are actually the genuine result of contemporary economic, social and cultural forces.

The framework of my analysis is grounded on ideas and definitions of social space derived from the work of Henri Lefebvre and Edward W. Soja. Four particular areas are explored in order to establish a definition of authenticity: the history of development, the memory of place, visual simulation, and mobility within space.

This framework is then applied to two representative streets, the historical Ti-Hua Street and the modern Chung-Hsiao East Road in order to investigate how the social, political, and economic changes that have resulted from the process of Westernisation are reflected in the spatial structure of these commercial streets. Through the application of this framework, the condition of authenticity is questioned and identified in the city.

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***Prologue: Theoretical Exegesis***



# Introduction

## 1. Motivation and argument

This thesis addresses the definition and understanding of historical and physical authenticity in the contemporary cityscape, as it negotiates the conflicting demands and challenges of globalisation. In this state of conflict between the local and the global, is it possible to define authenticity? Indeed, is it even desirable in a postmodern critique? If so, how can it be done? One must ask what categories can be used to define authenticity in this context? Since simulation dominates space as well as culture, is a feeling of nostalgia enough to constitute authenticity in a highly commercial world? These questions prompt the search for a viewfinder through which to comprehend such contested cityscapes.

As contemporary transportation and communication technologies undermine 'place,' authenticity becomes a locus for understanding cityscape, especially in a capitalist society which rapaciously adopts and adapts urban culture for its own ends. In the absence of a consensual authenticity, one might ask, what makes authenticity visible? Or, how can the invisible be made visible? While simulation appears as a strategy of the real, making authenticity possible, we fall into confusion when interpreting physical reality: as Jean Baudrillard has noted, the problem of authenticity comes from the decline of the real and the rise of nostalgia.<sup>1</sup>

Physical reality and rebuilt artefacts do not comprehensively express authenticity in today's cityscape because they often are fragmented or over-simplified by our urban observations and judgments. I have therefore studied various approaches to reading cityscape in order to establish plausible criteria for a definition of authenticity. I argue that "authenticity" in cityscape can be identified by approximations conditioned by an understanding of the relevant social and intellectual forces. We need these approximations of authenticity in order to understand the contested contemporary cityscape as the spatial reflection of the lived experience of the city's inhabitants. These criteria are based upon the study of the social interactions

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<sup>1</sup> For a detail description see pp. 13-14 below. Jean Baudrillard, "Simulacra and Simulations," in ed., Mark Poster, *Jean Baudrillard- Selected Writings Second Edition, Revised and Expanded*, (Cambridge & Oxford: Polity Press and Blackwell Publishers Ltd, 2000), p. 174.

accommodated and stimulated by the city. “Authenticity” thus is interpretable and recognizable as the social practice determined by the spatial relations between the inhabitants and urban space. This concept will be explored in detail in Chapter One.

During the last century, the rise of globalisation, of affordable mass transformation and the spread of information technology has had an enormous impact on human settlement. The rapidity of spatial change and the expansion of “placeless landscape,”<sup>2</sup> are the social and political consequences of globalisation. Many modern cities have taken on the character of the “Generic City” described by Rem Koolhaas as typifying the attitude of “down with character,” where the senses of identity and authenticity are difficult to define. He particularly points to the wide spread of such generic effects on Asian cities.<sup>3</sup>

The motivation for focusing this research on “authenticity” in contemporary cityscape is the fact that cities have become symbols of their nations, giving a stronger impression than the countries themselves. For example, New York City, London, Paris and Tokyo have strong individual images as world cities almost independently of the countries in which they are located. Thus, the emblematic quality of these cities reveals the possibility for establishing identity and authenticity in Asian cities. I would argue that this possibility exists in the characteristic form and content of such cityscapes, which reflect the transformation of nations and societies.

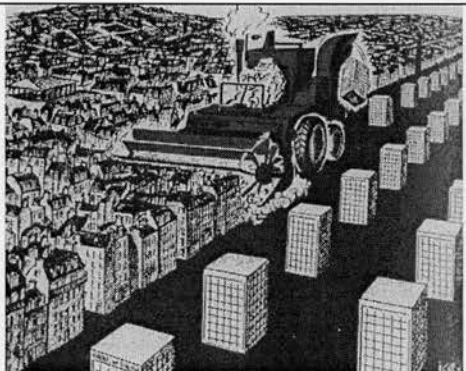

One can apply this social approach to seeking authenticity to explore contemporary Asian cities which have experienced the globalisation process and attracted

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2 Edward Relph defines the ‘placelessness,’ which “describes both environment without significant places and the underlying attitude which does not acknowledge significance in places. It reaches back into the deepest levels of place, cutting roots, eroding symbols, replacing diversity with uniformity and experiential order with conceptual order.” In contrast, ‘places’ are “fusions of human and natural order and are the significant centres of our immediate experiences of the world.... Places are not abstractions or concepts, but are directly experienced phenomena of the lived-world and hence are full with meanings, with real objects, and with ongoing activities.” Edward Relph, *Place and Placelessness*, (London: Pion, 1976), P. 143. Marc Augé also states the similar phenomena of ‘placelessness’ landscape as ‘non-places.’ Marc Augé, *Non-Places: Introduction to Anthropology of Supermodernity*, trans. John Hown, (London & New York: Verso, 1995).

3 Rem Koolhaas states that Generic city follows a global liberation movement: “down with character!” and this tendency moves to Asia. Rem Koolhaas, *Small, Medium, Large, Extra-large: Office for Metropolitan Architecture*, (Rotterdam: 010 Publishers, 1995), pp. 1248-1250.

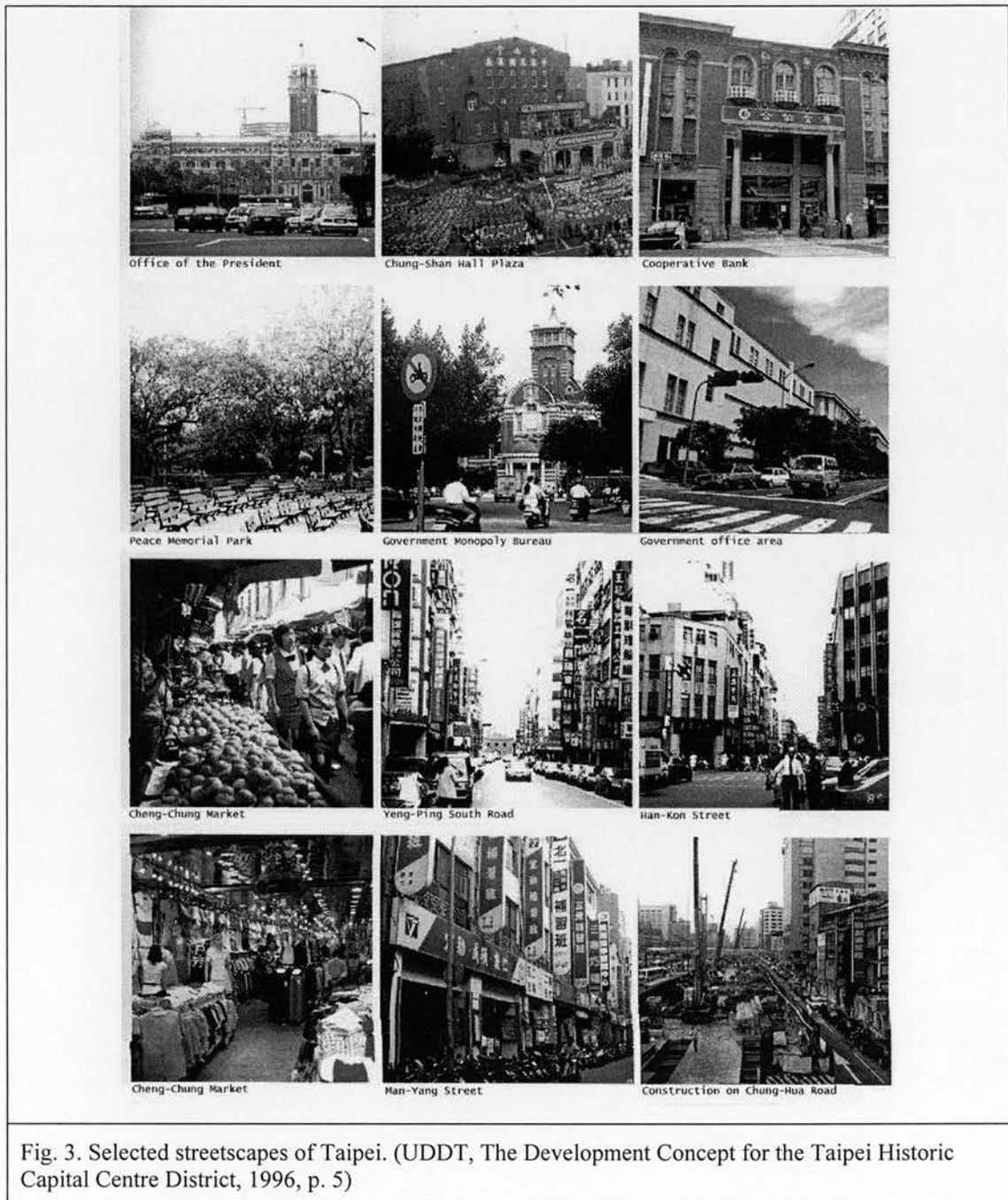
international attention to their burgeoning economies and urban development. Many historical cityscapes have been replaced through economic development. (Fig. 1) The growing Asian metropolises, such as Tokyo, Singapore, Hong Kong and Taipei, express the adoption of Western market economies and the trend toward political liberalisation and democratisation in their modern architecture and lifestyle. These cityscapes have undergone drastic urbanisation explicated by the imposition of grid streets, multiple skyscrapers and vast commercial spaces, driven by economically-oriented city planning strategies and the desires for homogeneous commercial development. In consequence of this process of internationalisation, these cities have lost many of their unique characteristics<sup>4</sup> (Fig. 2), and the survival of their historical memory is at risk. The question of how authenticity can be defined in urban landscape and where the sense of place originates are key issues for regaining the Asian-ness in these cities.

	
<p>Fig. 1. J. F. Batellier illustrates the process of "Urban Renovation." (<i>Illustration</i>, 1979, from M. Christine Boyer, 1996, p. 390)</p>	<p>Fig. 2. The cityscape of Singapore represents the character of the generic city as described by Koolhaas describes. (Photo by R. Ian Lloyd)</p>

Following the liberalization of politics and the media in 1987, Taiwan has become a maze of various ideologies and visual images. The cityscape of Taipei reflects this social change, making it difficult to identify its "authentic" image. (Fig. 3) It is dominated by homogenous architecture and characterless streets. In such a complex environment, the concept of authenticity is important for people to find their identity. Taipei has therefore been chosen to examine how such historical, economic, social,

<sup>4</sup> Ken Yeang, *Tropical Urban Regionalism- Building in a South-East Asian City*, (Singapore: Concept Media Pte Ltd, 1987), p. 8.

political, and cultural factors impact on the transformation of cityscape. However, underneath the homogeneously internationalised city form, the senses of authenticity and identity still exists in the social interaction between the life of inhabitants and their environment. I shall examine how adept the inhabitants of Taipei are at absorbing the influences of Westernisation and transforming their living environments, while yet retaining their cultural identities.





As streets are the most fundamental elements of urban settlement, they provide a suitable medium through which to view the “urban process,” that “intriguing conflation of social, political, technical, and artistic forces that generates a city’s form.”<sup>5</sup> Streets therefore have a mutable character, and are subject to constant modifications through design and use, as is life itself. For this reason, streets define the field of view in this text, as it observes the contemporary cityscape of Taipei. One of the most impressive characteristics of Taipei is its lively street-life where people, and spaces interact through activities almost 24 hours a day. Taking a stroll around Taipei, one finds spaces that reflect the process of adaptation of various cultures to the environment, in both historical streets like Ti-Hua Street, and in modern streets, such as Chung-Hsiao East Road, governed by metropolitanisation but at the same time developing their own character from their respective atmospheres, forms and contents.

In a rapidly expanding metropolis such as Taipei, the transformation of both historical and modern streets illustrates historical and physical authenticity as the spatial reflection of the lived experience of the city’s inhabitants. I use the example of the historical Ti-Hua Street and the modern Chung-Hsiao East Road, to illustrate the criteria of authenticity in a contemporary city. (Fig. 4-5) Using historical, spatial and visual analysis, the complex authenticity of a rapidly expanding Asian metropolis can be explored. Social authenticity emerges through an analysis which is guided by the framework of urban observation that considers the history of development, the memory of place, visual simulation, and the aspect of mobility within space. (Fig. 6)

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5 Zeynep Çelik, Diane Favro and Richard Ingersoll, “Street and the Urban Process- A Tribute to Spiro Kostof,” in eds., *Streets- Critical Perspectives on Public Space*, (Berkeley, Los Angeles & London: University of California Press, 1996), p. I.



Fig. 4. The arcade of Ti-Hua Street. (Chan-Peng Chuang, ed., 1997, p. 123)

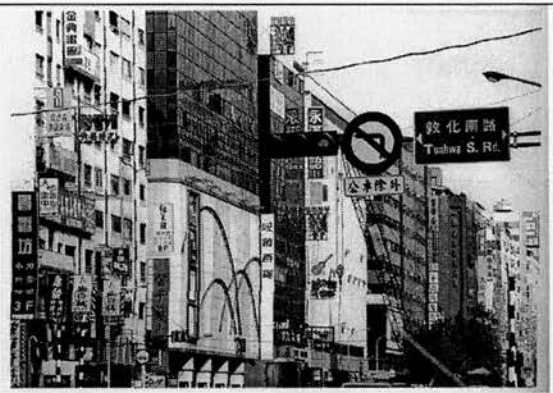


Fig. 5. The building façades of Chung-Hsiao East Road. (Fang-Yi Lin, ed., 1993, p. 162)

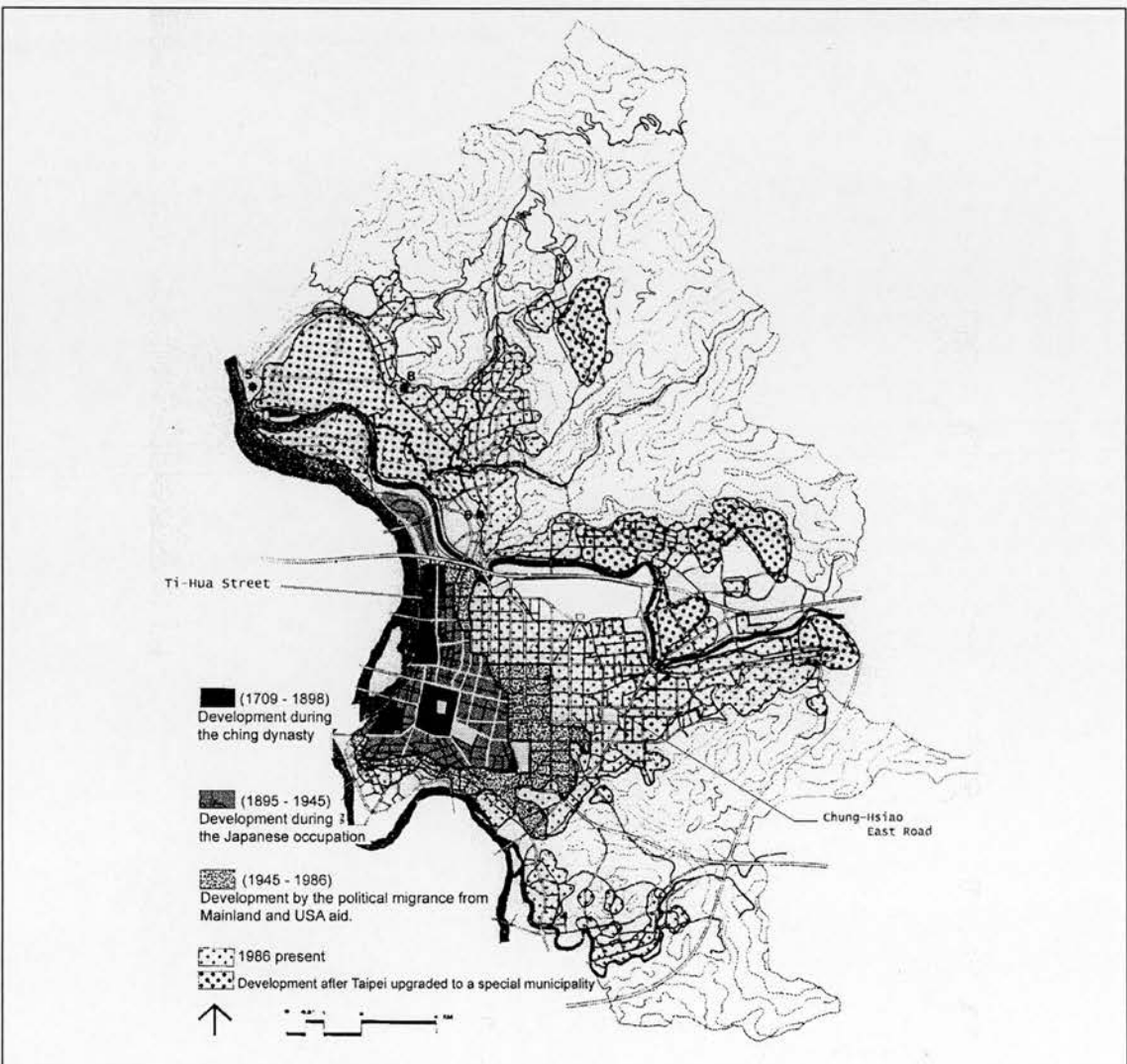


Fig. 6. Map of Taipei showing the locations of Ti-Hua Street and Chung-Hsiao East Road and its development. (Based upon Tamkang University, 1994, p. 68)

## 2. The Theoretical Approach

The framework of my analysis for urban observation incorporates several approaches. Earlier studies have focused individually on visual image, spatial cognition, or city discourse. Recent spatial theory has emphasized the social content of space, which is a relatively comprehensive approach to unfold the complex social authenticity in cities. Scholars such as David Harvey, Henri Lefebvre and Manuel Castells all suggest that urban space is the product of a society, and represents the citizen's consciousness of their city.<sup>6</sup> A city is thus not only a geographical settlement but also a collective space of social relations. Lefebvre leads us to explore the spatial transformation caused by social change on everyday life.<sup>7</sup> Their concepts identify the relationship between the changes of economic development, political forces, and social relations, and the increasing fragmentation and homogenisation of space.

Studies which focus on finding cultural identity can help to define authenticity, especially while the 'placeless landscape' is ubiquitous in modern cities.<sup>8</sup> Deyan Sudjic, for example, states that "there has been a growing interest in the manner in which cities, like nations, communities and other social groups use and re-use their own history as a means of creating culture identity."<sup>9</sup> His search for cultural identity brings social and historical aspects into the creation of the cityscape. In addition, Sharon Zukin states that a diversity of cultural resources can construct cultural identity preventing the placeless landscape emerging.<sup>10</sup> This struggle for identity and authentic place also involves the development of tourism. Tourism's demand for a different experience of place, and for an authentic cityscape, enhances cultural consumption and contributes to the formulation of cityscape.

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6 Harvey proposes that globalised capitalism not only produces the urbanisation of space but also formulates the urbanisation of consciousness. Lefebvre and Castells also state that the image of a city is composed of the cultural form of space and personal consciousness of the citizen. David Harvey, *Consciousness and Urban Experience*, (Oxford: Blackwell, 1985), pp. 252-253. Also see Lefebvre, (1979), and Castells, (1977: 217-218).

7 Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith, (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1991), p. 375.

8 The 'placeless landscape' holds the character of "placelessness" which describes by Relph. See note 2 above.

9 Deyan Sudjic, *The 100 Mile City*, (London: Deutsch, 1992), pp. 165-180.

10 Zukin states that "the stakes of cultural reorganisation are most visible in three basic shifts in the sources of cultural identity: from local to global images, from public to private institutions, and from ethnically and racially homogeneous communities to those that are more diverse." Sharon Zukin, *The Culture of Cities*, (Cambridge and Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1995), p. 24.



Thus, studies of social relations and cultural identity help to define the status of authenticity in today's cityscape. Broad historical, economic, social, political, and cultural points of view should be examined to see how these social factors affect urban space. From the perspective of these social aspects, authenticity can be analysed within the dynamic changing cityscape. Therefore, the framework of my urban observation is grounded on the ideas of social space derived from Henri Lefebvre and Edward Soja.

"Every social space is the outcome of a process with many aspects and many contributing currents, signifying and non-signifying, perceived and direct experienced, practical and theoretical. In short, every social space has a history, one invariably grounded in nature, in natural conditions that are at once primordial and unique in the sense that they are always and everywhere endowed with specific characteristics."<sup>11</sup>

Soja suggests that inhabiting this lived social space is to "reassert the equally existential spatiality of life in a balanced trialectic that ranges from ontology through to a consciousness and praxis that are also simultaneously and presuppositionally social, historical and spatial."<sup>12</sup> Inspired by their spatial concepts, four particular areas are explored to establish the definition of authenticity in cityscape: 1. The history of development, 2. The memory of place, 3. Visual simulation, and 4. Mobility within space. They will be discussed in detail in Chapter One.

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<sup>11</sup> Henri Lefebvre, *The Production*, p. 110.

<sup>12</sup> Edward W. Soja, *Thirdspace-Journeys to Los Angeles and other Real-and-Imagined Places*, (Massachusetts: Blackwell Publishers Inc., 1996), p. 73.

### 3. Methodology and the Structure of the Thesis

The methodology of this thesis involves literature analysis, construction of a research framework, fieldwork, and spatial analysis. The main body of the thesis is structured around the notion of authenticity and the reading of cityscape in order to build a conceptual framework for urban observation from a social aspect. This framework is then applied to two representative streets, the historical Ti-Hua Street and the modern Chung-Hsiao East Road in order to investigate how the social, political, and economic changes that have resulted from the process of Westernisation are reflected in the spatial structure of these commercial streets. Here, various visual analyses are used to investigate life and movement in relation to streets, buildings and interior space. Through the application of this framework, the condition of authenticity is questioned and identified in the city.

The thesis is divided into two parts. The first part is the "*Theoretical Exegesis*". The second part is the "*Fieldwork of a Real World*". In Part I, Chapter One, a framework of urban observation, based on the relationship between the notion of authenticity and reading cityscape, is constructed. This chapter constructs a network of spatial theory and city discourse. By focusing on social space, cityscape is explored from three perspectives:

1. The concept of authenticity in relation to the changing cityscape.
2. The reading of cityscape as text, visual image, spatial cognition, and social space. The review of urban literature includes a variety of work by such authorities as, Kevin Lynch, Gordon Cullen, Lewis Mumford, Frances Downing, Roland Barthes, David Harvey, Henri Lefebvre, Edward W. Soja, and Dolores Hayden.
3. The construction of a conceptual framework of urban observation based on the examination of cityscape as social space in order to define authenticity.

The spatial theories that form the intellectual foundation of this study show that the individual analysis of visual elements, city planning, city discourse, urban history or geography is not comprehensive enough in itself to define authenticity in contemporary cityscape. Acknowledging the notion of authenticity in cities and the difficulty in defining it leads to a social approach to understanding cityscape. I

therefore propose a theoretical framework for comprehending cityscape that investigates the dynamic relationship between the spatial, social and historical dimensions of urban existence.<sup>13</sup> Derived from Henri Lefebvre's 'social space,' Edward W. Soja's 'trialectical thinking,' and Lewis Mumford's theatrical metaphor, this framework of urban observation consists of the history of development, the memory of place, visual simulation and mobility within space. The categories of History of Development and Visual Simulation are defined within 'Spatial Practice,' because they perceive and create the material form of space. The category of Memory of Place is defined in the 'Representations of Space,' as it explores the mental dimension of cityscape. Mobility within Space is defined in 'Space of Representation,' since it records the changes in society and use of space. Consideration of the above four categories allows criteria for identifying authenticity to be established.

Chapter Two introduces the cityscape of Taipei with the focus on the periods from the Ching Dynasty (1708-1894), the political changes during the Japanese Occupation (1895-1945), and the political migration from Mainland China since 1949, and finally the burgeoning global economy since the 1970s. This involves the particular historical, political, economic, social and topographical influences on the formation of the cityscape. This investigation focuses on streets which show a spatial reflection of these relationships in today's streetscape. These relationships in themselves are a result of conflicting political ideologies, earlier unplanned urban development, the collision of local and Western culture, the adaptable attitude of the migrant population, and the dominance of private capital on city development.

In Part II, Chapters Three and Four are pivotal, as they address the shift from theory to practice. Two case studies on Ti-Hua Street and Chung-Hsiao East Road are the integration of theoretical framework and fieldwork. These two representative streets in Taipei are chosen to test the framework of urban observation because commercial streets illustrate well the complexity of authenticity. They are not only geographical structures that simulate the West, but yet remain the sites of an authentic, localised

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<sup>13</sup> See Chapter One Fig. 15 below.

urban life. Their particular authenticity is demonstrated through practical observation. The four aspects of urban observation identified above - the history of development, the memory of place, visual simulation and mobility within space - are central to the identification of authenticity on these two contrasting streets.

In Chapter Three, the first application is on the historical Ti-Hua Street. Here, history acts as "magnet" attracting people with its historical buildings and traditional shops. Their spatial form and content show a social structure, which has experienced considerable political, economic, social and spatial changes through history. Chapter Three addresses the unique characteristics of this streetscape from the interactions between the historical form of space and the inhabitants' living experience. Authenticity in a historical street is enriched by a close relationship between shop owners, customers and neighbours. It is evoked by the interactions between body experience and space.

In Chapter Four, the second fieldwork chapter, analysis shows that the modern Chung-Hsiao East Road, with its Westernised and unified streetscape, apparently so "inauthentic," is actually the genuine result of contemporary forces. It explores how Taiwanese people construct and maintain their living space while adopting a western pattern of consumption. It also demonstrates how modernity and bureaucratic planning intrude into their lives. The changing relationship between users and urban space is reflected in the transformation of this road in terms of its building styles, consumption patterns, signs, people's movement and experience.

Capitalism, and the political and media-driven shift towards a consumer culture have substantially changed the nature of retail space, and have dominated the formulation of the streetscape of Taipei. In contrast to the historical Ti-Hua Street, Chung-Hsiao East Road does not have many physical similarities in terms of street patterns and architectural form. However, there is a sense of continuity which exists in the use of space, and the lifestyle of inhabitants, and this is integrated into the streetscape. For example, contemporary market forces combine with the historical form of the street arcade to create an element of continuity both on the historical Ti-Hua Street and on

the modern Chung-Hsiao East Road. Although authenticity on Ti-Hua Street has more identifiable historical elements in its architectural form rather than it does on Chung-Hsiao East Road, there remains a similar social authenticity in both streetscapes. These retail spaces are the "lived space" of Lefebvre that concretise the social relations of everyday life. Moreover, social movements such as civic participation have emerged to revive the life of these streets. This mobilisation of social politics confirms Soja's call to construct social identity on the commercial streets of the city. Authenticity here is expressed by the simulation of both the West and the local past, as a social reflection of political and global economic impacts combined with the inhabitants' body experience. It embodies a sense of "movement" in the fascinating and ever-changing streetscape and reveals the rhythms of a dynamic city.

Specific conclusions are drawn from the interpretation and evaluation of the streets individually. The tension and interaction between the symbolic past of Ti-Hua Street and the dynamic present of Chung-Hsiao East Road create a more wide-reaching interface for authenticity on streetscape. The key to exploring authenticity in an emerging metropolitan city, such as Taipei, lies in its streets, where people experience urbanity and a sense of local habitation. It is also here, in the shops, that people first see the new products that signal changes to their lifestyle. In summary, this research develops the criteria of authenticity in a framework of urban observation. It draws attention to the social space of these shopping streets from their historical and social content through fieldwork. The aim of these criteria is to connect the spatial theory with urban observation in order to understand more fully the complex contemporary cityscape.



## Chapter One

### A Theoretical Framework: A Social Panorama of Urban Life and City Development

#### 1.1 The Concept of Authenticity

##### 1.1-1 The Possibility of Authenticity

Western society has been obsessed with the notion of authenticity both in cultural theory and architectural criticism in the twentieth century. For example, Theodor Adorno's *The Jargon of Authenticity* is an attempt to critique authenticity in the perspective of German existentialism.<sup>1</sup> Lionel Trilling considers the ideas of authenticity, of being true to one's self, in Western literature.<sup>2</sup> In the architecture columns of the *New York Times*, the *Boston Globe* and the *Los Angeles Times*, authenticity becomes the primary standard of judgment. The importance of authenticity in our cities is especially obvious when most of us neither question why nostalgic scenes extracted from the 1950s, for example, appear in today's buildings and products, nor bother if a playful and fictional re-enactment of historical events will lead to the misunderstanding of urban history.

Similar concern has been expressed by Jean Baudrillard. He suggests that the problem of authenticity comes from the decline of the real and the rise of nostalgia in modern cities.

“When the real is no longer what it used to be, nostalgia assumes its full meaning. There is a proliferation of myths of origin and signs of reality; of secondhand truth, objectivity and authenticity. There is an escalation of the true, of the lived experience; a resurrection of the figurative where the object and substance have disappeared. And there is a panic-stricken production of the real and the referential, above and parallel to the panic

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1 Theodor W. Adorno's critique of German existentialism has included the perspective of critical reason and the truth of the existentialist concern. Trent Schroyer's Forward to *The Jargon of Authenticity*, by Theodor Adorno, (Illinois: Northwestern University Press, 1973), p. x.

2 Lionel Trilling's *Sincerity and Authenticity* (1971) consider a wide spectrum of Western literature, from Shakespeare to Hegel to Satre, from Robespierre to R. D. Laing, to which the ideals of authenticity gives rise. Lionel Trilling, *Sincerity and Authenticity*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1971), back cover.

of material production: this is how simulation appears in the phase which concerns us—a strategy of the real, neo-real, and hyperreal, whose universal double is a strategy of deterrence.”<sup>3</sup>

This statement reflects the ambiguity of authenticity caused by the simulations of both Western architecture and native tradition. Simulations influence our experience in space and the way we perceive images, and thus have affected our identification of authenticity.

Within Western philosophy, authenticity has been considered as fundamental to human subjectivity. Heidegger’s distinction between authenticity and inauthenticity depends on whether or not this element of being, *Dasein*, chooses itself, its mineness.<sup>4</sup> This “mineness” is self-awareness and indicates the individual aspect in determining authenticity. Adorno further explains: “The individual subject chooses itself as its own possession.”<sup>5</sup> However, this possession of self often causes what Trent Schroyer describes as “The jargon’s incapacity to express the relation between language and truth, in that it breaks the dialectic of language by making the intended object appear present by the idealization inherent in the word itself.”<sup>6</sup> Authenticity thus is often as mysterious as Walter Benjamin’s ‘aura’: “In the aura of existentialism the historical need for meaning and liberation was expressed, but in a way that mystified the actual relation between language and its objective content.”<sup>7</sup>

In order to clarify the myth and jargon caused by the possession of oneself, the search for authenticity should involve a broader context including history, language, and social values. To define authenticity, Adorno suggests: “The word [authenticity] says nothing about what a thing is, but questions the extent to which the thing realizes what is posited by its concept.”<sup>8</sup> Although he implies that there is no exact authenticity, he points out that there is a relative authenticity which can be perceived

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3 Jean Baudrillard, “Simulacra and Simulations,” in ed. Mark Poster, *Jean Baudrillard*, p. 174.

4 Martin Heidegger, *Being and Time*, (Oxford: Blackwell, 1962), p. 68.

5 Theodor Adorno, *The Jargon*, p. 115.

6 Trent Schroyer, Forward to *The Jargon of Authenticity*, p. xiii.

7 Ibid.

8 Theodor Adorno, *The Jargon*, p. 125.



by comparing relevant concepts with the thing itself in the context of the present. Authenticity means that which is authentic in its relationship to the present. The observer's understanding of historical periods is therefore crucial for its identification.

As a concept, authenticity cannot be revealed as scientific material or as specific elements in the cityscape. Adorno describes the character of authenticity, "The thing [authenticity] stands in implicit opposition to what it merely seems to be. In any case the word would receive its meaning from the quality which it is a predicate of."<sup>9</sup> Adorno suggests that the concept of authenticity receives its meaning "from the quality which it is a predicate of." These 'qualities,' as Benjamin expressed, including history, language, and social values are the bases for the framework of urban observation. Within such a framework, it would be possible to distinguish between authenticity and myth in the cityscape. The statements of Adorno and Benjamin imply the possibility of the identification of authenticity in the city through a rationalized system of cultivated views on society. This rational system of cultivated views is what I hope to define as a framework for urban observation, from which one might establish workable criteria of authenticity.

Bustling social interaction on the streets suggests that the city "is involved in the vital processes of people who compose it" and that it is not "merely a physical mechanism and an artificial construction."<sup>10</sup> This formulation process of the modern city results essentially from the social interactions of everyday life. This social approach is also suggested by Lewis Mumford. Mumford believes that the understanding of a city comes through human interaction rather than by facts and figures, such as: population size, density or the nature of the built environment.<sup>11</sup> The social dimension of the city should be emphasised in the process of the observation.

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9 Ibid.

10 Park, (1925: 1), cited in Steve Pile, *The Body and the City: Psychoanalysis, Space and Subjectivity*, (New York: Routledge, 1996), p. 245.

11 Richard T. Le Gates and Frederic Stout, Editors' introduction to Lewis Mumford, *The City Reader*, (London & New York: Routledge, 1996), p.179.

In this sense, an understanding of the social relations of inhabitants will enable us to see through those myths of simulations and discover the authentic character of the cityscape. The hypothesis here is that the authenticity of cityscape should include a social aspect in the spatial analysis. The possibility of authenticity will be defined through the relationship between inhabitants, and the form and content of cityscape.

One obvious example of these relationships between people and space is found in their movement, recalling Michel de Certeau's 'everyday practices.'<sup>12</sup> de Certeau's sense of spatial practice suggests that walking in the city will reveal the condition of social life and the constant struggle for power and knowledge in space.<sup>13</sup> Here the primary movement of living and the primary sounds of life help identify authenticity in its "ordinariness." These practices make the complexity of the city readable because we can recognize practices that formulate the contemporary cityscape.

Moreover, streets become the focus for our search of authenticity in the city as the city is shaped by "the relation to those buildings and to the people in the buildings... and by what I didn't see, or didn't notice, on those streets."<sup>14</sup> Streets record both physical and social movements. This movement involves physical motion such as pedestrian and vehicular traffic, and many other body experiences. The movement within the city also includes social movements such as political evolution, economic activities and immigration. All of these movements happen on the streets and represent a city as a genuine result of social actions. For this reason, it is to the streets and their interactions that I look in quest of authenticity in a contemporary city.

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12 According to Michel de Certeau, the everyday practices are talking, reading, moving about, shopping, cooking, etc. Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, (Berkeley & Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1984), p. xix.

13 Michel de Certeau, *The Practice*, pp. 90-102.

14 Minnie Bruce Pratt describes the way the city becomes a state of mind: "I was shaped by my relation to those buildings and to the people in the buildings, by ideas of who should be working in the Board of Education, of who should be in the bank handling money, of who should have the guns and the keys to the jail, of who should be in the jail; and I was shaped by what I didn't see, or didn't notice, on those streets." cited in Steve Pile, *The Body and the City*, p. 245.

Neal Ascherson's concept of authentic space is consistent with this observation of everyday practice. Ascherson suggests that what makes a space authentic is that it is one in which "real people did real things."<sup>15</sup> He supports social and personal approaches to observations of space:

"These are spaces of authenticity. Within them, whether they are physical or social or spiritual, people escape prevailing constraints and can behave spontaneously, truthfully, in accordance with what they feel to be their real nature."<sup>16</sup>

Authenticity in cityscape thus represents this kind of freedom in space. This definition of authenticity is congruous with Mikhail Baryshnikov's dance concept in '*PASTForward*', which leads my urban observation to consider the free expression of movements. Within this programme, Baryshnikov extends the notion of authenticity so that dancers "made their own rules-as-rules, incorporating chance procedures, tasks and gesture, everyday movement and text, material from their personal life."<sup>17</sup> We can associate this boundless and creative curiosity, which drove Baryshnikov to the West in the Cold War era, with the question of authenticity in today's cityscape. The dance and authenticity in cityscape are cognate in that both of them share the notion of "investigation of the extraordinary beauty of everyday movement, ... a belief in the democracy of the human body."<sup>18</sup> Authenticity in cityscape is thus associated with the investigation of everyday movement, with direct reference to personal experience.

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15 Neal Asherson, "Reflections on International Space," *London Review of Books*, 24 May 2001, p. 11.

16 Ibid., p. 10.

17 This is originated by Bonnie's notion of the Judson era: "investigation of the extraordinary beauty of everyday movement, occasional polemics, seriousness but not sacredness, exposure of artistic process, direct reference to personal experience, a scepticism of ultimate truth, a belief in the democracy of the human body." Bonnie Brooks, "Looking at PASTForward," *Programme Supplement of Performance Workshop for PASTForward*, Mikhail Baryshnikov with White Oak Dance Project, Edinburgh, 10-16 August 2001.

18 Bonnie Brooks, "Looking at PASTForward," *PASTForward*, [Theatre Program], Edinburgh, 13-16 August 2001.

Thus, authenticity can be identified as the spatial reflection of the lived experience of the city's inhabitants. (Fig. 1)

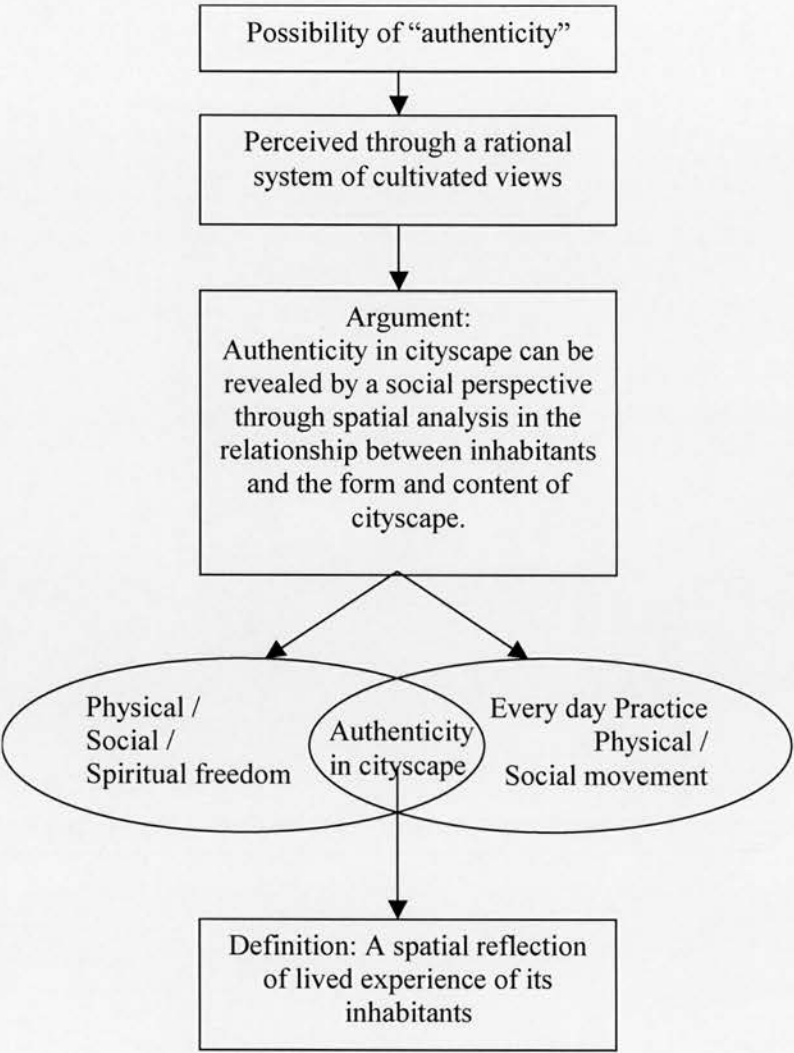


Fig. 1. Central concepts in defining the notion of authenticity in cityscape.

Although this spatial reflection is verified by different aspects and is conditioned by social actions, there is a "context" for us to improvise what we see, hear and feel in the streets. This context is central to what we perceive as the criteria of authenticity. Scholars such as Adorno, Baudrillard, Henri Lefebvre, and Edward Soja have supported this social approach to the search for authenticity and provided a social context of history, space and time. The idea of social space expands this concept of urban observation to everyday life, so people can perceive authenticity from social interactions within the real and imaged cityscape. Therefore, it is possible to

recognise the authenticity in cityscape from the social space where historical, social and spatial contexts interact. Authenticity under these notions therefore becomes more interpretable and recognizable from the social interaction in cityscape. This context of authenticity does not only affect the form, material, and technique of the buildings, but also reflects the human experience, movement and social relations within their time and space. It helps us to understand what allows people to express themselves freely and to leave an imprint on the forms and contents of streets and buildings. The criteria of authenticity help us to see through the confusion of the current juxtaposed and simultaneous cityscape.

### 1.1-2 The Myth of Authenticity in Cities

The concept of Authenticity has long been an important issue in cultural theory and architectural criticism while Postmodernism promotes the notion that everything is possible in our contemporary cityscape. Many cities have faced crises of authenticity as Celeste Olalquiaga describes in the conditions of postmodernism,

“...Because of being profanely ambivalent and ambiguous, rejoicing in consumption and celebrating obsessions, ignoring consistency and avoiding stability, favouring illusions and pleasure...What is at stake [in postmodernism] is the very constitution of being - the ways we perceive ourselves and others, the modes of experience that are available to us, the women and men whose sensibilities are shaped by urban exposure.<sup>19</sup>

The problem of authenticity is part of the postmodern condition because we cannot easily distinguish the authentic cityscape from the inauthentic ones under today's ever-changing possibilities.

As a result, the adaptive reuse of old buildings or the cloaking of new buildings with vernacular decorations has become common in today's cityscape. For example, the nineteenth century flower and fruit market of Covent Garden has been revived as a major tourist shopping area in the heart of London. The Rows of Chester in the city-centre extend their business function as they did in the thirteenth century.<sup>20</sup> (Fig. 2) Moreover, the Las Vegas style, the agglomerating combination of architectural forms, has appeared simultaneously in many American cities, such as Atlanta City and Miami Beach. Postmodernist architect, Philip Johnson's AT&T famously makes use of “decorated tops referencing historical styles—here the characteristic curve of Chippendale furniture—and combined conflicting styles from various historical eras.



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19 Celeste Olalquiaga, *Megalopolis*, (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1992), p. xi, cited in Edward W. Soja, *Thirdspace*, p. 92.

20 The present black and white appearance of Rows was largely created by Victorian architects John Douglas and T. M. Lockwood in the late 19th century although the origin of the unique covered walkways known as Rows probably dated from the 13th century. Maggie O'Hanlon, *Chester*, [Tourist Guide], (Hampshire: Pitkin Unichrome, 2000), pp. 3 & 18.



(Fig. 3) At ground level, the AT & T building incorporates the glass architecture of the arcade style.”<sup>21</sup>

	
<p>Fig. 2. The Rows of Chester is its major business and tourist attraction. (Maggie O’Hanlon, 2000, p. 1).</p>	<p>Fig. 3. Philip Johnson’s AT&amp;T building makes use of the characteristic curve of Chippendale furniture. (Slide Library of Architecture Library, University of Edinburgh).</p>

Likewise, when debates arise regarding authenticity in Asian cityscape, some fear that these cityscapes are in danger of losing their historical authenticity with the continued introduction of Western simulation, while others fear that imitating anything from the past is equally inauthentic. This contrasting situation commonly exists in Asia’s metropolitan cities. In Hong Kong for example, Lan Kwai Fong was a small, quiet area where orchids were sold at the beginning of the twentieth Century; Lan Kwai Fong literally means “The Scent of Orchids”. It was transformed into a Westernised entertainment area by Allan Zeman’s business investment in 1981.


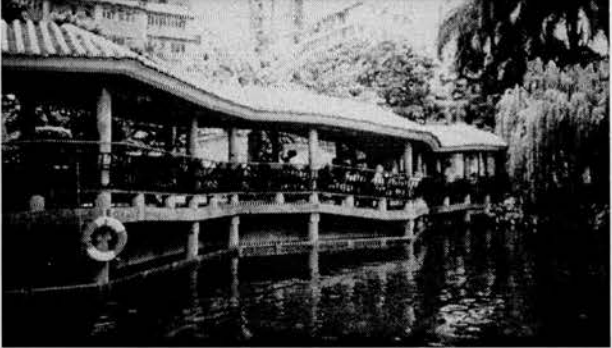
“When I (Allan Zeman) came and looked at Lan Kwai Fong, it had a little magic that appealed to me. It was a residential area, and very Chinese.... it was not as westernised as today....

21 Susan Buck-Morss, *Dialectics of Seeing: Walter Benjamin and the Arcade Project*, (Cambridge & London: MIT Press, 1989.), pp. 343 & 357.



I knew the only way I could change the area would be...if I could control most of properties here. So, I slowly started to buy up the buildings in this area...I was able to transform the lobbies, and make them look more fashionable, much newer, much younger.”<sup>22</sup>

This is how the westernised image is created for this area as a tourist attraction with its famous nightlife and festive atmosphere, and how its local character was lost because of the commercial development. (Fig. 4) Meanwhile the design of Tak Wah Park employs the “Jiang-Nan style” (a southern China style) as the theme for constructing the park. This park is one of the many public spaces designed in this traditional theme by the Hong Kong government in order to develop tourist attractions and increase their economic value.<sup>23</sup> (Fig. 5) Both simulations of the West and of the past exist simultaneously and with the intention of creating an image of authenticity.

	
<p>Fig. 4. Commercial development creates the nightlife of Lan Kwai Fong. (Kwok Yan-Chi Jackie, 1998, p. 225)</p>	<p>Fig. 5. Tak Wah Park uses the traditional elements of the Chinese garden in its design theme. (Kwok Yan-Chi Jackie, 1998, p. 157)</p>

22 Siu Kin Wai, “A Theme Stage for Theatrical Consumption in Urban Life: A Case Study of Lan Kwai Fong in Hong Kong,” in ed. Kwok Yan Chi Jackie, *The Production of Space in Hong Kong*, (Hong Kong: Crabs Company Ltd, 1998), p. 213.  
 23 Kwok Yan-Chi and Ng Chit Hang Ken, “The Analysis of the Design of Tsuen Wan Tak Wah Park,” in ed. Kwok Yan-Chi Jackie, *The Production*, p. 152.

The motive of this research is based on these concerns and aims to understand the manifold uses of authenticity as a means of analysis. As a viewer of cities from Asia, considering Western spatial theories, I see a similar difficulty in finding authenticity in contemporary cities, and in ascertaining which things are truly relevant to our societies. Therefore, I would like to test any limitations of these theories when applied to Asian cities.

The progress of information technology and media, entwined with the demands of tourism, creates multilayered and simultaneous cityscapes. This provokes a debate on authenticity. At first glance, the decision to seek authenticity in the cityscape looks abstract and obscure. But, authenticity is more than a literary genre or moral judgment, it involves daily experience of what we perceive and conceive. The critique of authenticity is a valuable part of urban studies as it is a critical reflection on the societies which have left an imprint on the forms of streets and buildings.

Adorno expresses the difficulty of identifying reality: "As the mass media can create a presence whose aura makes the spectator seem to experience a nonexistent actuality, so the jargon [of authenticity] presents a gesture of autonomy without content."<sup>24</sup> This suggests that the advertising media and the effect of commercialised simulation have created a rootless cityscape. Nevertheless, this loss of authenticity, caused by the fetishism of commodities, is consequently incorporated in today's cityscape, not only in Western society, but also in Asia's growing cities. For example, on the streets of Taipei, one can easily find more international chainstores, such as the American Starbucks Coffee, with their international unified interiors, than characteristic local shops. Such phenomena illustrate an imposed lifestyle and consumption pattern, which reflect upon the contents and the design of shops. This increases the difficulty of identifying the authenticity of place since it is hidden behind the mask of commodified culture and its various ideologies. One is compelled to ask, is there anything concrete enough for us to identify the character of our cities and encourage us to participate in making our cityscape?

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<sup>24</sup> Theodor Adorno, *The Jargon*, p. xiv.

There is an increasing trend towards discussing the way in which cities represent themselves as “a theatre of social action.”<sup>25</sup> This “theatre of social action” is commonly accepted within contemporary society because cityscape can be said to reveal the power struggles between different social and political groups. Even though the approaches of different observers are determined by their own concerns with authenticity in history, nevertheless, they share the idea that, scrutiny of social space acknowledges the ambiguity in the form and content and aids the definition of authenticity of the cityscape. Here I would like to focus the discussion upon two categories: the context of observation, and the difficulty in seeking authenticity.

#### 1. The context of observation:

The search for authenticity is particularly important in industrial and commercial societies where the past is not cherished, hence its cityscape is inclined towards change, rather than conservation. These changes may adopt fragments of the past into the creation of cityscape, thus, the formation of cityscape, just like the authenticity in modern cities, often becomes a matter of curiosity, nostalgia, or sentimentality. Consequently we must ask, how is it possible to identify authenticity in cityscape? There are three relevant contexts that should be considered.

Firstly, the sense of sight plays an obvious though crucial role in observing cityscape because people encounter the city through their senses. Signs come to be important for a readable space as Henri Lefebvre suggests: “Space itself, reduced to signs and sets of signs, becomes part of knowledge, so defined.”<sup>26</sup> The environment can be furnished with, or animated by, signs in such a way that space becomes readable to society.<sup>27</sup> For example, the advertising signs of casinos in Las Vegas speak of the commercial development of the city and its gambling culture while promising the

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25 Lewis Mumford describes the city that is “a theatre of social action.” “What Is City?” (*Architectural Record*, 1937), reprinted in eds., Richard T. LeGates and Frederic Stout, *The City Reader*, (Routledge: London & New York, 1996), p. 183.

26 Henri Lefebvre, *The Production*, pp. 132-133.

27 For example, Lefebvre suggests that, “The architect is supposed to construct a signifying space wherein form is to function as signifier is to signified; the form, in other words, is supposed to enunciate or proclaim the function. According to this principle, which is espoused by most ‘designers,’ the environment can be furnished with or animated by signs in such a way as to appraise space, in such a way that space becomes readable (i.e. ‘plausibly’ linked) to society as a whole.” *Ibid.*, p. 144.

unattainable. The simulated themes of the casinos, such as Caesar's Palace, New York City, Pyramid, and Treasure Island, are represented in the illuminated adverts and buildings in order to attract tourists and gamblers, regardless of the ambiguous existence of history and geography implied by such names. (Fig. 6) These signs are a powerful visual and spatial reorganization of public culture. What is authentic is tangible only through comprehension of the link between signs and their articulation. For, it is only through such concatenation that signs can have meaning to the viewers.

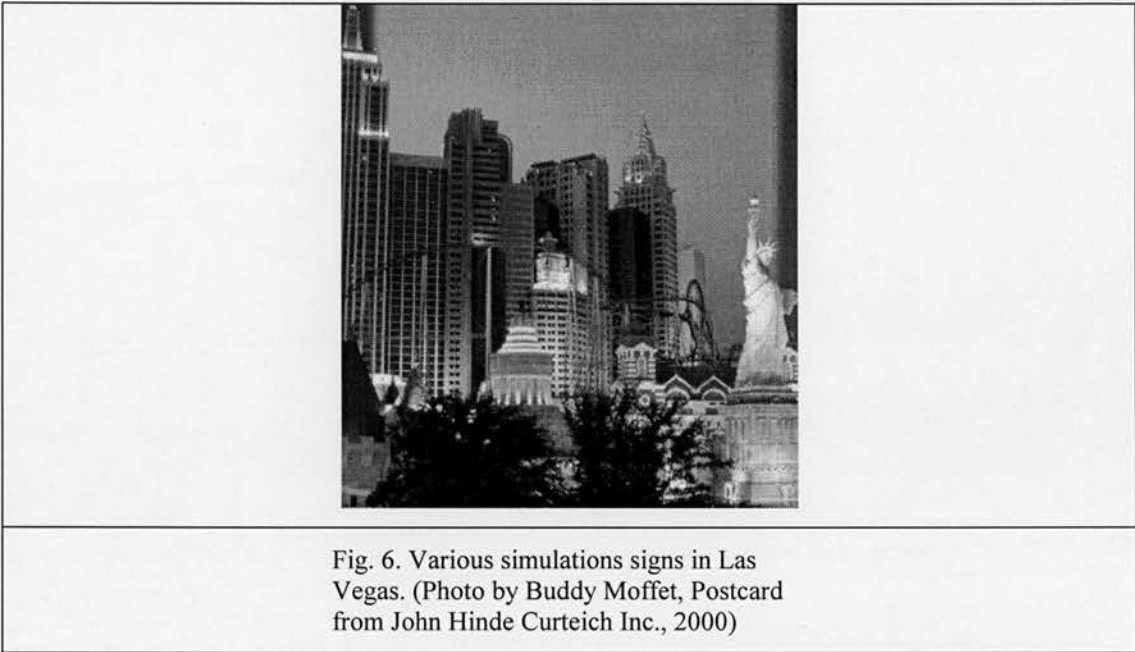


Fig. 6. Various simulations signs in Las Vegas. (Photo by Buddy Moffet, Postcard from John Hinde Curteich Inc., 2000)

Secondly, this context of observation should involve personal consciousness. Recognition and concatenation of the link between signs and their articulation involve a great deal of personal experience of both perceiving and conceiving space with the appropriate contextual information. To an extent, the context is a mode of thinking in which the observer interpret the world.

This interaction between people and space is essential for urban observation because the rapid change of the modernised city has reshaped people's urban experience, along with their moral view of the external world. Judging whether a cityscape is authentic or inauthentic is complicated by these changing experiences. Walter Benjamin states that:

“Experience has fallen in value. And it looks as if it is continuing to fall into bottomlessness. Every glance at a newspaper demonstrates that it has reached a new low, that our picture, not only of the external world but of the moral world as well, overnight has undergone changes which were never thought possible.”<sup>28</sup>

In this state of transformation, urban space becomes the product of this changing social relationship representing the consciousness of urban life. People’s consciousness considering of urban life and urban space becomes the dominant force in the creation of cityscape. The full scope of human interaction in space is essential for understanding the authenticity in cityscape. The full scope of human interaction includes the broad context of social change, the experience of urban life and the evolution of the city. Knowledge of these social changes becomes fundamental in determining authenticity in contemporary cities and provides the starting point for assessment of the constantly changing cityscape.

The third context for seeking authentic cityscape should consider social relations. David Harvey states that the tendency towards global Capitalism formulates the consciousness of urbanisation as well as its physical manifestations.<sup>29</sup> Urban space becomes the representation of human consciousness as it responds to social change. These changes of social relations, determined by economic and political forces, are responsible for the increasing fragmentation and homogenisation of the commercialisation of the urban scene.<sup>30</sup>

Recent spatial theories explore further the social context of space. The sense of place, the cultural form of space and civic consciousness have all been utilised by Henri Lefebvre and Manuel Castells to construct the image of a city in opposition to the tendency towards hegemonic urban space.<sup>31</sup> Lefebvre proposes to explore the spatial transformation within the changes of everyday life because space is produced to be

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28 Walter Benjamin, *Illuminations*, trans. Harry Zohn, (New York: Schocken Books, 1969), p. 83.

29 David Harvey, *Consciousness and Urban Experience*, (Oxford: Blackwell, 1985), pp. 252-253.

30 Henri Lefebvre, *The Production*, p. 375.

31 Henri Lefebvre, 1979; Manuel Castells, *The Urban Question*, (London: Edward Arnold, 1977), pp. 217-218.



lived as a social space.<sup>32</sup> Lefebvre further defines social space as the perceived, the conceived and the lived space, which Soja considers the criteria for understanding cityscape.<sup>33</sup> In addition, Lefebvre proposes; “Like any reality, social space is related methodologically and theoretically to three general concepts: form, structure, and function.”<sup>34</sup> Thus, the understanding of space and the authenticity of cityscape should be analysed by experience in relation to the form, structure and function of space. For Lefebvre, reality exists in space which relates to “The living organism, and just as intimately bound up with function and structure.”<sup>35</sup> This relationship between people and the form, structure, and function of space provides a code for deciphering social space as a place where authenticity is formed.

Nevertheless, the debate on authenticity is still questioned by viewers confronted with today’s assorted architectural styles and materials. The perception of the viewer is fundamental in determining the presence of deceit in architecture, or any other cultural product. For example, the truthfulness of architecture was explored in John Ruskin’s *Seven Lamps of Architecture* where he described how to avoid the ‘sham material.’ He tried to expose the material deceit and pointed out that truthfulness mainly depends on the observer’s knowledge.

“Its true delightfulness depends on our discovering in it the record of thoughts, and intents, and trials, and heart-breakings—of recoveries and joyfulness of success: all this can be traced by a practiced eye...”<sup>36</sup>

Edward W. Soja expands the theory of the practiced eye to the reading of social space with a balanced trialectic of Spatiality-Historicity-Sociality.<sup>37</sup> (Fig. 7)

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32 Lefebvre argues that the production of space is the product of social relations and everyday life. Ibid., pp. 143 & 375.

33 Soja suggests understanding cityscape through social space. Edward Soja, *Thirdspace*, pp. 66-67.

34 Henri Lefebvre, *The Production*, p. 147.

35 Ibid.

36 John Ruskin, *The Seven Lamps of Architecture*, (New York: Dover Publications, 1989), p. 54.

37 Edward W. Soja, *Thirdspace*, p. 81.

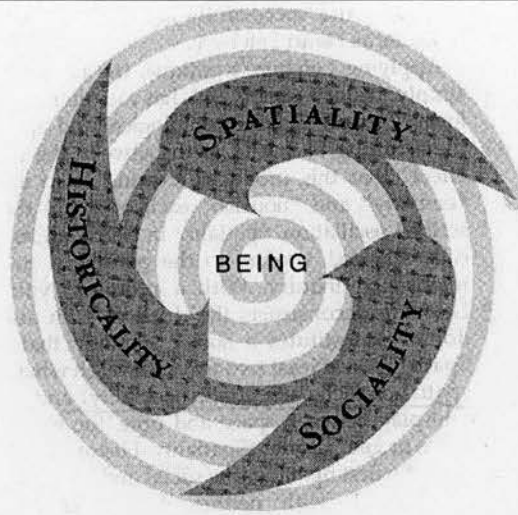


Fig. 7. Soja's trialectic thinking, "the trialectics of being," encompassing spatiality, historicity and sociality. (Soja, 1996, p. 71).

According to Soja, the trialectical thinking encompasses the rich and complex realities that comprise the world as we experience it. He asserts that the spatiality is neither material form nor mental construct, but one that comprehends both the material and mental dimensions of spatiality and moves beyond it. He therefore proposes that understanding the city is to think of space trialectically with a fresh view of the relationship between its historical, social, and spatial conditions. His concepts attempt to comprehend cityscape through the understanding of trialectical conditions. However, he does not provide a clear explanation of how this spatial thinking can be applied to observe real space.<sup>38</sup> His method of observation is abstract and questioned by Edward Robbins: "Without contextualising difference, how can we measure the varying degrees of difference or the relative importance of things, real or imagined?"<sup>39</sup> Robbins's criticism is justified since there is no obvious practical application of Soja's concept. Thus, I believe that further definition of the criteria of authenticity in space is necessary.

38 Edward Robbins, "The Trouble with Trialectics: Space, Time and the City," *Design Book Review*, Vol. 41/42, winter/spring 2000, p. 118.

39 Ibid., p. 119.

## 2. The difficulties in defining authenticity:

The second focus of the authenticity in cities is concerned with the difficulties in its perception. Firstly, this difficulty is increased because of commercial culture and the use of simulation. Capitalists and the state authority have been working to create a controlled historical narrative of cities by means of urban renovation and cultural tourism. The resulting spaces are seldom historically sensitive. Redevelopment intends to leave us with the impression that updated and modernized is better than historic original. Good examples can be found in the success of invented landmarks, such as: the Space Needle in Seattle, the Statue of Liberty in New York, the Eiffel Tower in Paris, which create identities for cities more effectively than their historical buildings do.

Moreover, Eric Hobsbawm's *The Invention of Tradition* has shown how blurred the line is between authenticity and inauthenticity when politics and commercial culture are involved in creating symbols, which shape cityscape. The creation of symbols and customs, such as national flags, or Scottish highland tartans, for example, comes into existence as part of national movements and also produces products for consumption, such as souvenirs, buildings to be visited and many other tourist attractions.<sup>40</sup> The authentic cityscape of any historical era becomes indistinguishable from these inventions and from the simulation of the cultural and tourism industries, which play an important role in economic activity and the shaping of the urban landscape.

In response to the demand for an "authentic" cityscape, it is expected that cities will witness many projects and endeavours related to environmental management, protection and the improvement of heritage sites for purposes of promoting cultural and heritage tourism. Commonly, property developers have been keen to cater to these expectations, creating built environments, such as resorts based on imagined or simulated antiquity, historical genteel social relations, and mythical cultures. For example, the appeal of reconstructing historical buildings—from wholly new

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<sup>40</sup> Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, eds., *The Invention of Tradition*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), p.10.

materials or by moving existing structures—demonstrates that their popular appeal relies in apparent authenticity. The Beamish, the North of England Open Air Museum, illustrates this reconstruction process with its regional history collection. (Fig. 8)



Fig. 8. Photos in the museum guide showing the reconstruction of regional history. (Rosemary E. Allan, 1991, p. 1)

In 1972, the Beamish was opened to the public on its three hundred acre site which “Provides the setting for buildings which have been rescued and rebuilt on this site. Here they have been equipped with furniture and machinery they once held and are peopled by costumed interpreters.”<sup>41</sup> The commercial attraction has been emphasized by the director of the museum, Peter Lewis, who states that in the expansion of the town, “A sweet factory and shops plus a period garage will be built. Somewhat longer term projects exist for a chemist’s shop and house and a covered arcade of small shops.”<sup>42</sup> This museum was voted Europe’s “Museum of the Year” in 1987,<sup>43</sup> which reflects how successful this recreation of life experience of the past has been, although the authenticity has been compromised by this invention of tradition and simulation for commercial purposes.


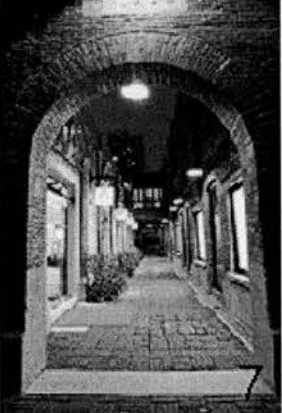
41 Peter Lewis, “Looking to the Future,” in ed., Rosemary E. Allan, Beamish, *The North of England Open Air Museum- The Making of a Museum*, [Museum Guide], (Newcastle upon Tyne: Hindson & Company Ltd., 1991), p. 40.

42 Ibid.

43 In 1986, Beamish received the National Heritage “Museum of the year” award. It was cited as “an outstanding example of modern museum using flair and imagination to present the history of its area in a most exciting way.” Cited in ed., Rosemary E. Allan, *Beamish, The North*, p. 18.

Secondly, there are difficulties in identifying authenticity from the design aspect. This awareness of lost authenticity is particularly important in modern Asian cityscape because designers have often borrowed, somewhat haphazardly, the architectural styles of the local past, or from Western culture in order to evoke either cultural leadership or market dominance. Paradoxically designers attempt to make a ready-made statement of permanence. Asian cities drastically witness this spatial transformation and thus hope to fuse all of these complex motivations of modernization within the architectural ornaments of skyscrapers by dressing these towers in either Renaissance, Bauhaus or other Western styles, or by using indigenous elements. In consumer society, any objective notion of truth or falsity in appearance is obliterated in favour of market interests.

One of the major problems arising is that this commercialised vision cannot be discussed as absolute truth or falsity but only as a social construction responding to commercial promotion. For example, the indigenous elements are often used as the tools to represent a ‘designed’ authenticity. Xin Tan Di area in Shianhai is a vivid illustration of this use. These old houses and narrow alleys are remained due to an ambitious business investment. Although their interior spaces are refurbished to provide various restaurants, pubs, discos and souvenir shops, however, the indigenous façades of buildings and street pattern are maintained and reconstructed as a ‘designed’ authenticity for commercial reasons. (Fig. 9-10)

	
<p>Fig. 9. Aerial photo of Xin Tan Di showing a group of preserved street houses surrounded by the new wall of modern development. (Xiaowei Luo, <i>Time Architecture</i>, 2001)</p>	<p>Fig. 10. A ‘designed’ old streetscape of Xin Tan Di viewed through a gate. (uac:<a href="http://www.abbs.com.cn">http:// www. abbs.com.cn</a>)</p>



Capitalist consciousness attempts to captivate people in the knowledge that these designs confer status and infer discriminating taste, while, at the same time, the styles are lauded for their democratic qualities and appropriateness to commercial enterprise. However, authenticity cannot be legitimately established by design, unless it is linked with the social contexts of place and the life of inhabitants.

The third aspect is the difficulty in identifying authenticity because of the primacy of mass media. This development has led to a general increase in receptiveness to designed reality. Disneyland is an obvious example of designed pseudo-reality created by mass media. Cartoon figures and settings come to exist in the real life of Disneyland town, no matter whether it is in Los Angeles, Paris or Tokyo. Under this mask of technological development and commercial culture, the sense of spatial sequence is no longer developed according to physical time, motion and place. On the contrary, cityscape represents simultaneously transition of time and space compressed. Global information technology enhances this compressed process and confusion. Especially in rapidly growing Asian cities, their cityscape obviously represents this influence and the conflict between Eastern and Western traditions, and between the local and global cultures.

Being aware of the dominance of commercial culture, design manipulation and mass media, observing changes of social space may prevent the concept of authenticity in cityscape becoming simply souvenirs of local history or the fetish of pop culture. We might focus on how places are transformed throughout history while considering the modification of the original context and culture during the commodifying process. Upon these discussions of the context of observation and the difficulty in seeking authenticity, I would like to propose that the search for authenticity has to be studied by a systematic method and defined within a framework of observation. Such a study has to involve the historical and social dimensions in order to capture the essence of authentic cityscape and grasp the changes within society. Authenticity will thus be represented in the changing relationships between social actions and space.

The concept of authenticity is dependent upon the notion of there being an “original.” But the cityscape has been confronted with the uniqueness, the “aura” of the original, which will reveal the authenticity in cityscape. What I intend to develop is a framework which can define the criteria of authenticity in cityscape. One could project these criteria of urban observation to reveal the authenticity in modern cityscape. This framework is important to analyse the reasons why and how diversified political and social forces intersect and cut across one another through subtle collusion and collision, and to understand by what means, and by which methods, different factors manipulate and transform the social realities into cityscape. What is required for developing such a framework is the connection between the concept of authenticity and the appropriate method for reading cityscape in a valid context.

## 1.2 Urban Observation: The Reading of Cityscape

Cityscape has changed significantly in the twentieth century, and a comprehensive understanding of cityscape is fundamental for defining the authentic. This reading of cityscape has been explored in different fields. I summarise the relevant approaches under five headings: 1) visual image, 2) spatial cognition, 3) city discourse, 4) social space, and 5) theatrical metaphor.

1) Studies of visual image:

Kevin Lynch analyses city form by the visual and physical elements as they present themselves to the individual. He argues that people structure their perception of cities using recurrent elements, such as paths, edges, districts, nodes and landmarks.<sup>44</sup> Combining these subjective perceptions, he develops serial analytic maps of Boston, Jersey City, and Los Angeles. (Fig. 11) This analysis comes up with a readable visual perception, which if not actually objective is at least inter-subjective. He examines the image of the city using a systematic method of visual analysis of urban elements, together with interview results. In addition, he also suggests sensual experiences are important in creating the image of the city: "The visual sensations of colour, shape motion, or polarization of light, as well as the other senses such as smell, sound, touch."<sup>45</sup>

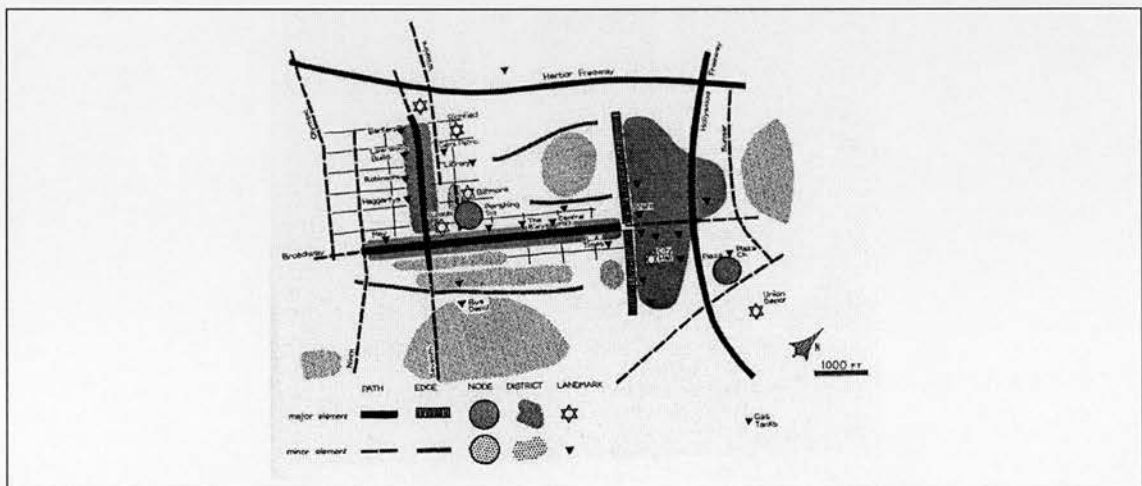
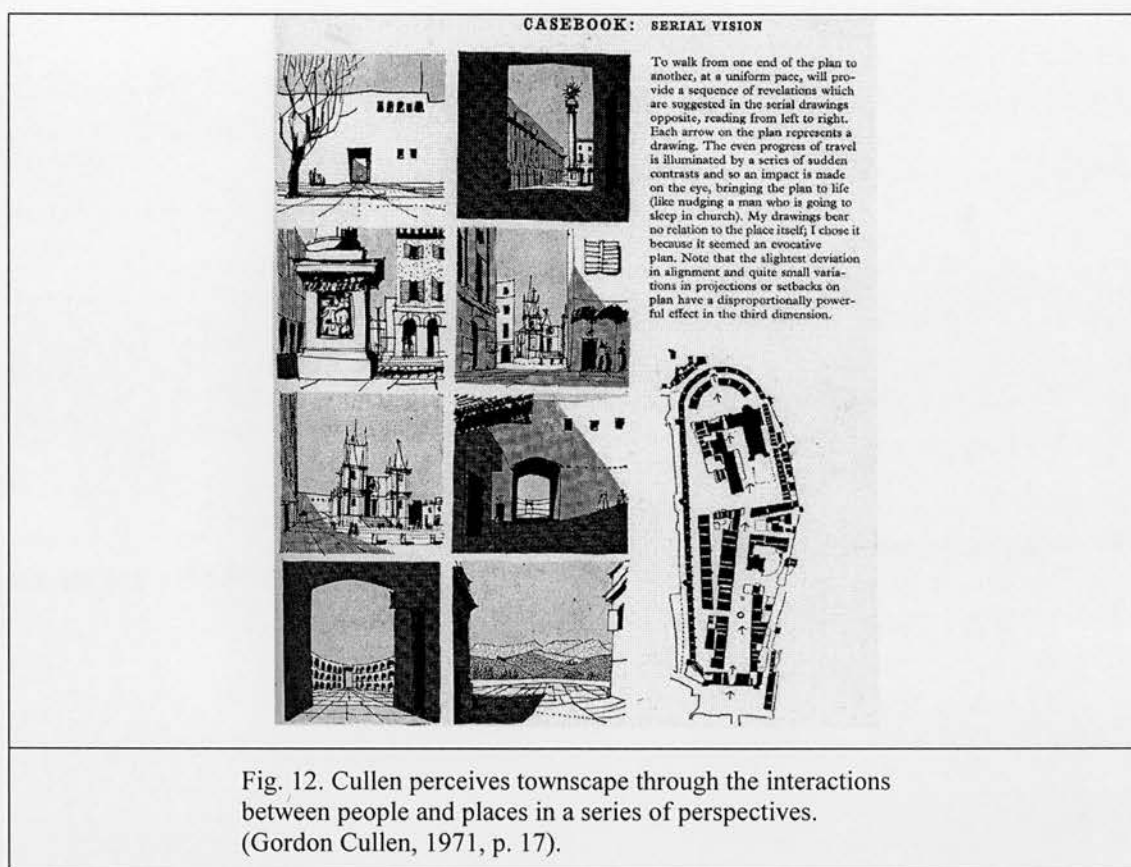


Fig. 11. The visual form of Los Angeles illustrated with Lynch's visual elements. (Kevin Lynch, 1960, p. 33).

44 Kevin Lynch, *The Image of the City*, (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1960), pp. 47-48.

45 Geoffrey Broadbent, *Emerging Concepts in Urban Space Design*, (New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold, 1990), p. 226.



Similarly, Gordon Cullen follows this focus on the visual approach by introducing a serial vision of townscape.<sup>46</sup> In his analysis, both natural and artificial elements such as, trees, water, buildings, traffic and advertisements, which go to the making of townscape, are woven together. His visual analysis of a walking journey shows how a sequence of interactions between people and places can be conceived. (Fig. 12) For Cullen, the understanding of townscape is a visual matter: “for it is almost entirely through vision that the environment is apprehended”.<sup>47</sup> In addition,

“...Vision is not only useful but it evokes our memories and experiences, those responsive emotions inside us which have the powers to disturb the mind when roused.”<sup>48</sup>

46 Gordon Cullen, *The Concise Townscape*, (London: Architecture Press, 1971), p. 17.

47 Geoffrey Broadbent, *Emerging Concepts*, p. 218.

48 Ibid.

These studies suggest a method for urban observation through visual images. Cullen's 'serial vision' illustrates an evocative way to the perception of the town despite the townscape being normally a moving set which is difficult to perceive.<sup>49</sup> But visual images need to be interpreted, both of their analyses merely consider the physical structure of cities without adequate analyses of the social content. So, although they can be used as powerful tools to capture the character of space they need further refinement and definition.

## 2) Studies in spatial cognition:

Spatial cognition focuses on the sensual experience of people in a place. Hummon (1992) defines the sense of place as "both an interpretative perspective on the environment and an emotional reaction to the environment." This definition indicates that the understanding of the sense of place is based upon the interaction of people and environment in perceiving environmental messages in order to conceive and represent the meaning of space.

This interaction has been put forth as a means of experiencing the sense of place and a way of understanding how people make attachments both to the place and to the memory of places. Frances Downing declares that the memory of a place is evoked by past experience, through the emotional, sensuous, and objective dimensions.<sup>50</sup> His idea connects memory with the process of perceiving the material elements in order to comprehend the meaning of place. Downing gives an example,

"The memory of a small, overgrown pavilion in grandmother's garden can evoke experiential dimensions of shade and shadows, the smell of roses, or a vista of the garden. In addition to these sensual experiences, the memory may evoke emotional dimensions of belonging and safety, of

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49 David Gosling, *Gordon Cullen: Visions of Urban Design*, (London: Academy Editions, 1996), p. 24.

50 Downing states, "Memory presents the realm of past experience--emotional, sensuous, and sometimes objective--that can simultaneously haunt our existence and help us image our future." Frances Downing, "Memory and the Making of Places," in eds., Karen A. Franck and Lynda H. Schneekloth, *Ordering Space: Types in Architecture and Design*, (London & New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold, 1994), p. 233.



cultural identity or individual expression. Objective dimensions of scale and detail, identification of elements, and rules of assembly may also be derived from this experience.”<sup>51</sup>

Amos Rapoport also states that people understand a place through the processes of perception, cognition and evaluation of the environmental stimulus.<sup>52</sup> His concepts address the nature of the perception that link people and environment.<sup>53</sup> He suggests that we can understand how people see environments, and how they feel about them, by using the observation of behaviour, interviews, questionnaires, historical examples, official documents and other written and pictorial material.<sup>54</sup> However, he does not provide a structure for this analysis. Such perception emphasises the sensual experience and mental imagery. The cognition focuses on the experience of remembering which is influenced by personal consciousness. A place becomes meaningful to people as a result of the interaction between mind and environment. For example, Lawrence Halprin relates his experience as he flew into New York City,

“I remember New York most as a diamond- like jewel lit up at sunset on an early winter evening. I came in—flying by helicopter from Kennedy airport to the Pan Am building—in ten minutes, leaving reality and entering a sparkling, glowing, faceted, colourful, brilliantly lit jewel glittering in the distance. I will never forget the excitement of seeing it from far off and then coming closer and closer and actually penetrating into the skyline, being frightened by its brilliance, and then finally, entering into the sparkle, like a moth to a flame, into a kind of visual orgasm of colour and light.”<sup>55</sup>

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51 Ibid., p. 235.

52 Amos Rapoport, *Human Aspect of Urban Form: Towards an Environment Approach to Urban Form and Design*, (Oxford: Pergamon, 1977), pp. 37-38.

53 Amos Rapoport, *Human Aspect*, pp. 1-4.

54 Amos Rapoport, *The Meaning of the Built Environment- a Nonverbal Communication*, (Beverly Hills: SAGE Publications, 1982), p. 11.

55 Lawrence Halprin, “The Collective Perception of Cities- We Reflect our Urban Landscapes.” *Urban Open Spaces*, n.d., pp. 4-6.

Spatial cognition, therefore, extends our understanding of city form by connecting physical stimulation to personal experience.<sup>56</sup> It illustrates the human ability to perceive and remember what has been experienced in space. However, this mental image is especially related to the individual or situation at a particular moment. Thus, we also often need to take into account the local and oral history of place as this provides another aspect of collective memory. Dolores Hayden, for example, explores the cityscape of Los Angeles through the perspective of local history. She investigates: "The production of space in the urban landscape—the ranches, vineyards, groves, oil fields, and factories of the growing city—and the women, children, and men who formed the labour force of the expanding city between the earliest settlement and World War II."<sup>57</sup> Her view traces the involvement of many different ethnic groups in building up the city, and thus introduces public history into urban observation.

### 3) The city as a discourse:

City discourse describes the cityscape through cultural and social experience which is revealed by different types of texts. Trevor J. Barnes and James S. Duncan identify landscape as a text because the character of both reflects the social and cultural situations. In *Landscape as a Text*, Ricoeur argues that there are four common characteristics of a written text and a landscape.<sup>58</sup>

1. Landscape, like text, can describe social life.
2. Just as a text escapes from its author's ownership. Landscape can be detached from the intentions of its original designer.
3. The formulation of landscape is like a never-ending active process which is continually reacting to a variety of actions. Similarly, as circumstances change, a text is reinterpreted frequently and successive interpretations take it further from its original context.

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56 For example, Yi-Fu Tuan argues that the experience of place engages all five senses in seeing, smelling, feeling, hearing, and tasting the essence of places. Tuan Yi-Fu, *Space and Place: The Perspective of Experience*, (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1977), p. 6.

57 Dolores Hayden, *The Power of Place- Urban Landscapes as Public History*, (London & Cambridge: MIT Press, 1997), p. xiii.

58 T. J. Barnes & J. S. Duncan, eds., *Writing Worlds: Discourse, Text and Metaphor in the Representation of Landscape*, (London & New York: Routledge, 1992), p. 6.

4. The meanings of both text and landscape are unstable, depending upon the different interpretations of different readers.

These four characteristics indicate that the constitution of cityscape can be represented as a variety of social and cultural products involving human perception through various media. These various media, including literature, painting, and maps, represent the city discourse as well as its social, economic and political institutions.<sup>59</sup> As the city is conceived as text and collage, the task of urban study shifted accordingly. There is an emphasis on contending "A city should present itself as a readable story, in an engaging and, if necessary, provocative way, for people are indifferent to the obvious, overwhelmed by complexity."<sup>60</sup>

This city discourse refers to Lefebvre's conceived space and has been used to signify the cityscape by texts and signs that help to construct the sense of place and the image of city. For example, from Roland Barthes's description of the Eiffel Tower, which explores the cityscape of Paris in geography, history and in its contemporary life. The tower is created as both a 'signifier'- to read, and the 'signified'- to be read.<sup>61</sup>

"To visit the Tower is to get oneself up onto the balcony in order to perceive, comprehend and savour a certain essence of Paris. ...To visit the Tower, then, is to enter into contact not with a historical [s]acred, as is the case for the majority of monuments, but rather with a new nature, that of human space: the Tower is not a trace, a souvenir, in short a culture, but rather an immediate consumption of a humanity made natural by that glance which transforms it into space."<sup>62</sup>

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59 Trevor J. Barnes and James S. Duncan, "Introduction: Writing Worlds," in eds., Trevor J. Barnes and James S. Duncan, *Writing Worlds*, pp. 5-7.

60 Allan Jacobs and Donald Appleyard, "Reconceiving the City and Culture," in ed., Donald Appleyard, *The Conservation of European Cities*, (Cambridge: MIT Press: 1979), p. 256.

61 The tower is a place for people to see the city from which is a "signifier." It is also a symbol of Paris to be seen by people, therefore, it is "signified." The concepts of "signifier" and "signified" are part of conceived space from Lefebvre. Henri Lefebvre, *The Production*, p. 144.

62 Roland Bathes, "The Eiffel Tower," reprinted in ed., Neil Leach, *Rethinking Architecture- a Reader in Cultural Theory*, (London: Routledge, 1997), pp. 172-180.

His description describes the city as a text which is written by the inhabitants in the course of their daily life. In this context, the cityscape is created as an outcome of the combination of practical needs and social interaction, becoming the representation of society and history. His observation of the Tower is a subjective description but it also illustrates its relationship with the geographical, historical and social space of Paris. Thus, city discourse can open another window onto the real and imaged worlds. However, since the cityscape is far more complex than interpretation of signs, the interest in city discourse extends beyond a textual or actual landscape to a social landscape. This interpretation cityscape often reveals a high degree of social and political content.

#### 4) Analysis of social space:

Much recent research attempts to read cityscape as a social space, with the intention of understanding how the changing nature of cityscape arises from the interactions of its people and therefore has physical, mental, and social characters. Henri Lefebvre conceptualises the social space as i) perceived, ii) conceived, and iii) lived space. (Fig. 13) Authenticity in cityscape as a spatial reflection of lived experience of its inhabitants arises from the interactions of social space.

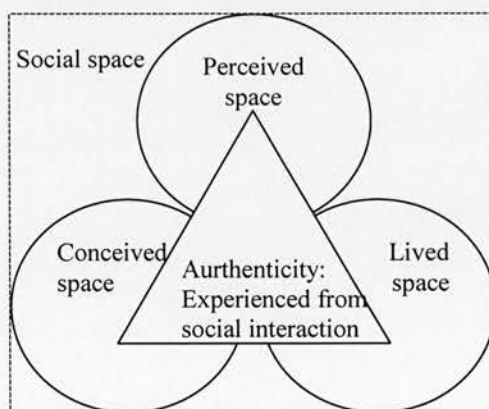


Fig. 13. Authenticity arises from the interactions of social space.

Firstly, perceived space is regarded as the material form of social space. It presents itself as the 'Social Practice' of human activity, in all its behaviour, and experience. Perceived space is represented as "Both medium and outcome of human activity,

behaviour, and experience.”<sup>63</sup> This materialized spatiality is directly perceivable by visual image, however, it is difficult to identify authenticity due to the complicated process of perception and conception. Here one is reminded of Heidegger’s explanation that “World picture, does not mean a picture of the world but the world conceived and grasped as picture.”<sup>64</sup> This transformation between real world and picture informs us that in order to avoid a subjective assumption, the viewer’s approach to authenticity should be appropriate to the methods and materials of his time and space.

Secondly, the conceived space is a mental construct, termed ‘Representations of Space.’ It is formulated by political power, and the ideology of society represented by knowledge, signs, and codes. These tend to represent themselves within language, whether texts or discourse. This imaged space is dominated by the values of society and provides a justification for interpreting architecture in society. For example, Lefebvre talks of:

“The arrogant verticality of skyscrapers and especially of public and state buildings, introduces a phallic or more precisely a phallocratic element into the visual realm; the purpose of this display, of this need to impress, is to convey an impression of authority to each sector. Verticality and great height have ever been the spatial expression of potentially violent power.”<sup>65</sup>

According to Lefebvre, cityscape is a spatial reflection of these social ideologies and human interactions. Thus, ‘conception’ interacts with social values and with the representation of architecture and cityscape where the adoption of new materials and methods continuously offer challenges to the authenticity of cityscape.

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63 Lefebvre states, "Spatial practice, as the process of producing the material form of social spatiality, is thus presented as both medium and outcome of human activity, behaviour, and experience." Cited by Edward W. Soja, *Thirdspace*, p. 66.

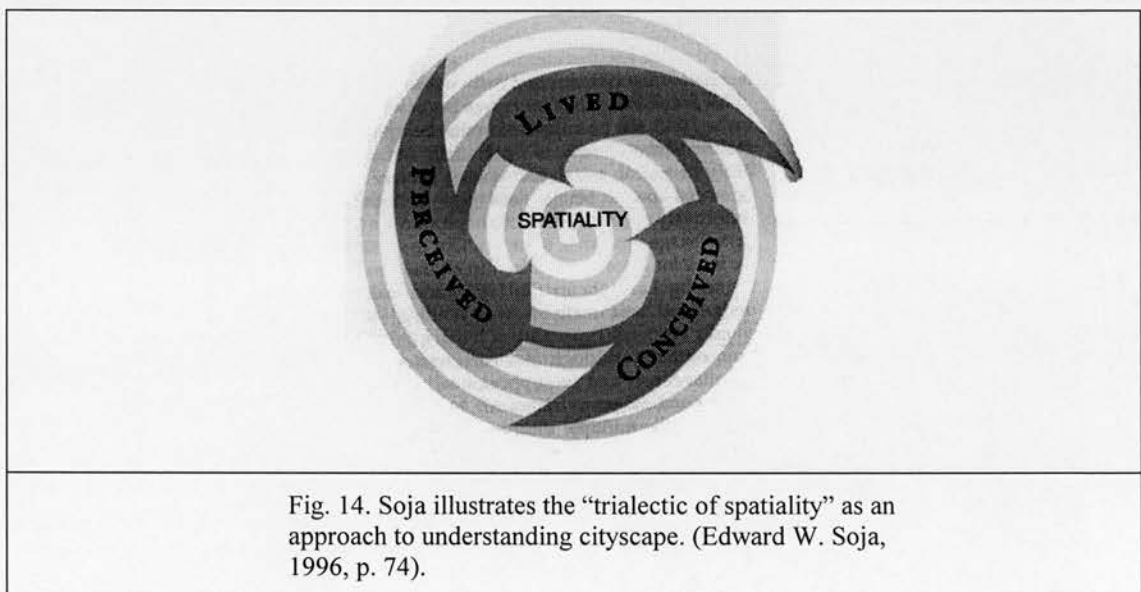
64 Martin Heidegger, "The Age of the World Picture," in *The Question Concerning Technology and Other Essays*, trans. William Louitt, (New York: Harper and Row, 1977), pp. 115-154.

65 Henri Lefebvre, *The Production*, p. 98.



And, thirdly, the lived space, which Lefebvre calls 'Spaces of Representation,' is seen as the space of 'users'. It encompasses the interaction between space and social relations, and this interaction is found in the experience of perceived and conceived space. As it represents the interaction of social relations and contains both real and imaged space simultaneously, its content refers to the authentic cityscape. This approach provides insight of understanding the changing nature of society and reveals authenticity in the material, mental and social character of space. This observation of social space thus adds a more specific category for identifying authenticity.

Following this perception of social space, Soja suggests reading the cityscape from a triangular perspective of spatial thinking which not only encompasses material and mental space but also the spatialisation of historicity and sociality.<sup>66</sup> He names this socially oriented observation of cityscape the "trialectic of spatiality."<sup>67</sup> (Fig. 14)



This "trialectic of spatiality" attempts to explain how social and political factors make a space what it is. It begins in a phenomenological sense by searching for "the nature of social being, of human existence."<sup>68</sup> Then, he explores the aspects of Firstspace, Secondspace, and Thirdspace.

<sup>66</sup> Edward W. Soja, *Thirdspace*, pp. 81-82.

<sup>67</sup> Ibid., p. 74.

<sup>68</sup> Ibid., p. 71.

What he calls Firstspace is material space where people perceive experience physically. It coincides with Lefebvre's perceived space which is defined as 'Spatial Practice.'<sup>69</sup> The materiality of Firstspace thus involves the dynamic relations between human beings and both their natural and historical environments. It is the visual focus of space which is materialised, socially produced, empirical space. In addition, it also suggests an analysis of spatial pattern from "...the flowing 'movement' of people, goods, and information, to the regular 'networks' of such movements..."<sup>70</sup> The mobility within space contains these movements of physical experience and social interactions therefore is essential for urban observation.

Soja's Secondspace refers to a conceived space which is a result of mental power. Soja thinks both architecture and urban planning offer a privileged opportunity to understand how power operates.<sup>71</sup> Michael Foucault expresses a similar idea that space is where power and knowledge are transformed into actual relations. For Foucault, "space is where the discourses about power and knowledge are transformed into actual relations of power."<sup>72</sup> Accordingly, the power structure of society can dominate the formation of urban space and conception of places. Lefebvre also calls the conceived space, the 'dominant space,' as it is the representation of power and ideology, of control and surveillance. The observation of the structure of authority helps to understand the social factors which create cityscape.

Thirdspace is based on the material and mental conceived within traditional dualism, but it extends beyond both substance and meaning. It is a broadened cultural context consisting of material space (perceived space), imaged space (conceived space), and social space (lived space). (Fig. 15)

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69 Ibid., p. 66. Also see note 63 above.

70 Ibid., p. 75.

71 Soja states, "both architecture and urban planning offer privileged instances for understanding how power operates." Ibid., p. 234.

72 Ibid.

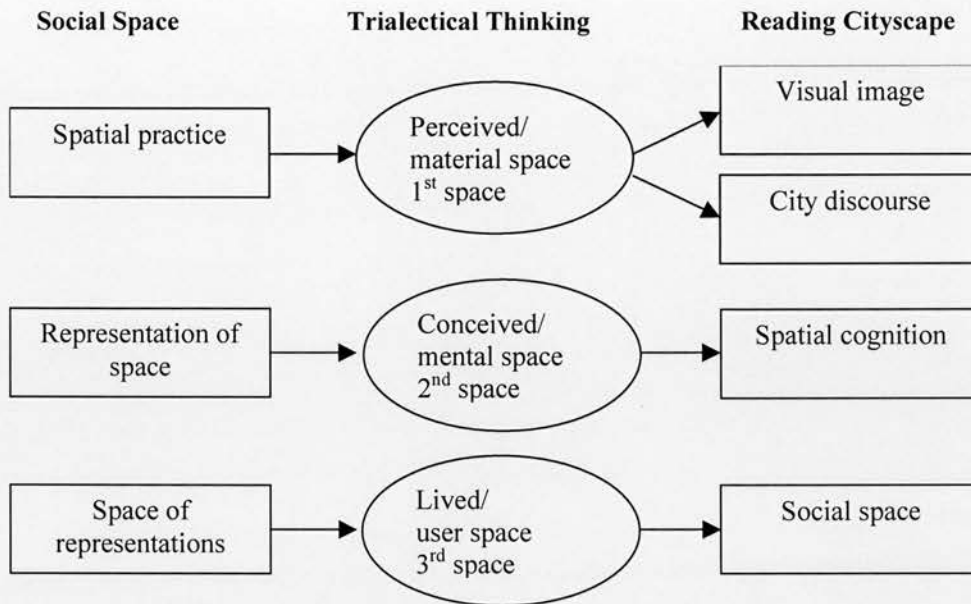


Fig. 15. The relationship between the context of social space and the perspectives of reading cityscape.

Soja proposes that a balanced view of Spatiality-Historicity-Sociality is essential to understand the complexity of contemporary cities.<sup>73</sup> He uses Los Angeles as an example to show how social factors shape cityscape, taking a micro view by observing everyday streets and then a macro view to examine the urban condition of the region.<sup>74</sup> For example, he states that increasing social and economic polarization has given rise to the extreme contrasts in the cityscape of Los Angeles between “a growing exclusive-professional-managerial ‘technocracy’” and “an explosive mix of the ‘working poor.’”<sup>75</sup> His urban observation explores on aspects of gender, race, authority and territory. This spatial concept helps connect the current social relations and history to cityscape.

##### 5) Theatrical Metaphor

City and theatre have been intertwined for centuries, “...For the theatre is often a foil for the representation of public life, and public space is frequently arranged as if for a

<sup>73</sup> Ibid., pp. 70-82.

<sup>74</sup> Ibid., p. 310.

<sup>75</sup> He names the “technocracy” which is the largest urban concentrations in the world of scientists, engineers, and mathematicians. The “working poor” are primarily Latino and other immigrants, and women. Ibid., p. 306.

theatrical performance.”<sup>76</sup> This theatrical metaphor suggests one more social approach to the observation of cityscape. That is: to analyse social events and movements as performances in the city theatre in order to understand a changing society and its effects on cityscape. Our experiences on streets, walking, watching, talking, and shopping constitute a social drama in the city theatre. It is this spatial interaction between people which expresses social phenomena and formulates cityscape. This may offer a solution to the problem of authenticity, as described by Turner.

“Theatrical and architectural space are both cultural prisms through which the spectator experiences social reality, viewing mechanisms that metaphorically spatialize reality, establishing the scene as authentic and truthful, or fanciful and spectacular.”<sup>77</sup>

Lewis Mumford extends this understanding of the social and theatrical dimension of the city. To Mumford, a city is

“ ‘A theatre of social action,’ and everything else- art, politics, education, commerce- only serve to make the ‘social drama’... more richly significant, as a stage-set, well-designed, intensifies and underlines the gestures of the actors and the action of the play.”<sup>78</sup>

Mumford’s city as a theatrical paradigm suggests that a city is not only a setting for urban life but also emphasizes its importance in making the ‘social drama.’ Its influence on the interactions between people and space is an authentic reflection of the lived experience of the city’s inhabitants.

These theatrical events and interactions, in response to social actions, create a spatial expression in city theatre. In Rome, this has been the case since ancient times. The

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76 Christine M. Boyer, *The City of Collective Memory- Its Historical Imagery and Architectural Entertainment*, (Cambridge & London: MIT Press, 1996), p. 74.

77 Victor Turner, “*The Anthropology of Performance*,” cited in Christine M. Boyer, *The City*, p. 74.

78 Lewis Mumford emphasizes the social dimension of the city rather than by the statistics or figures, such as population size, density or the built environment. Lewis Mumford, “What is a City?” reprinted in eds., Richard T. Le Gates and Frederic Stout, *The City Reader*, p. 183.

triumphal arch, in which architecture played a key-communicating role, signifies military conquest. Through the middle ages, the streets were a political theatre with a series of propaganda spectacles such as tournaments, marine battles, and *tableaux-vivants*. In the Renaissance, Alberti conceived his ideal city as a theatre where streets and squares host a theatrical milieu of power and status.<sup>79</sup>

“...If the City is noble and powerful, the streets should be straight and broad, which carries an Air of Greatness and Majesty; but if it is a small Town or a Fortification, it will be better, and as safe, not for the Streets to run straight to the Gates;...”

Alberti's perspective suggests that the physical space formed by its architecture reflects social conditions and enhances social actions. The stage set of the theatre as the physical form of the city has the similar function. “The stage decor should create the visual equivalent of the spirit of a play, establishing both a mood that actors may not throw off and a dramatic space that determined the nature and flow of drama.”<sup>80</sup> For example, Palladio's theatre design, *Theatro Olimpico*, brings the city drama into theatre by the street scene on the stage in Verchansa. (Fig. 16)



Fig. 16 Palladio's *Theatro Olimpico* brings the street scene into theatre.  
(Slide Library of Architecture Library, University of Edinburgh)

<sup>79</sup> Christine M. Boyer, *The City*, p. 79.

<sup>80</sup> Ibid., p. 106



Pageants and biblical plays continue to mark important religious festivals in European cities today. Their cityscapes which are the result of social actions, also formulate these actions, “since actions of men were affected by the ambience of a place, its genius loci or atmosphere.”<sup>81</sup> Deborah S. Ryan illustrates such social drama in her essay about the Pageant of London which was staged at the Festival of Empire and Imperial Exhibition at Crystal Palace in 1911.<sup>82</sup> The people who participated in the Pageant portrayed the historical, political, and social life of the society on the streets.

In the past, this type of social event was highly participatory, involving communities and was often staged outside of the church, in streets or squares. In continuity, the streets and squares still accommodate festival theatres, political demonstrations and social exhibitions. The physical form enhances the social actions, and thus is a dominant perceivable element reflected in the city. For example, in Bernard Tschumi’s Parc de la Villette, its temporary gateways and ephemeral exhibition pavilions were stage settings for the fireworks display that took place on 20th June 1992 in front of more than one hundred thousand people.<sup>83</sup> (Fig. 17) This was a performance in a city theatre with its overlapping sets of ‘actors’ and ‘audiences.’ The people who watched this performance also became part of the performance itself. Similar events happen at the Edinburgh International Festival. Every year, the High Street is temporarily pedestrianised for the use of street performances, promoting shows, artists’ exhibitions and historical tours. Tourists, locals and artists together make this historical street the central stage of the city theatre. (Fig. 18)

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81 Ibid., p. 106.

82 Deborah S. Ryan, “Staging the imperial city: The Pageant of London 1911,” in eds., Felix Driver and David Gilbert, *Imperial Cities*, (Manchester & New York: Manchester University Press, 1999), p. 117.

83 Bernard Tschumi, *Event-Cities (Praxis)*, (Cambridge & London: MIT Press, 1999), p. 19.

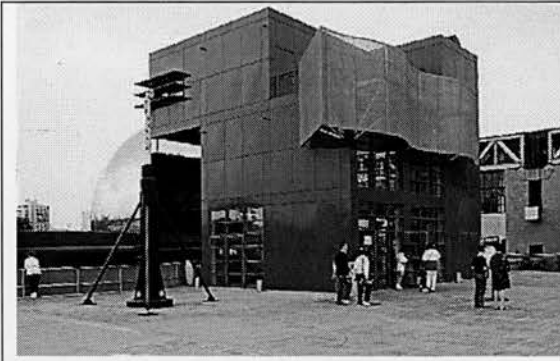


Fig. 17. Parc de la Villette by Bernard Tschumi.  
(Slide Library of Architecture Library,  
University of Edinburgh)



Fig. 18. The pedestrianized street functions as  
the stage of city theatre in Edinburgh. (Photo  
by Ming-Kang Liang, 2001).

In Asian cities, such street performances and many other social events are often associated with religious activities and traditional customs. They reveal the formation of cityscape involving the historical, social and spatial interactions as if we were watching a drama of social events. Thus this “theatre of social actions,” gives a social perspective for observing the authenticity in cityscape.

For a city’s inhabitants, as for performers in a dance or play, movement in the city creates the rhythms of its urban life. Jane Jacobs uses “street ballet” as a metaphor to describe the movement in cities.

“This order is all composed of movement and change, and although it is life, not art, we may fancifully call it the art form of the city and liken it to the dance – not to a simple-minded precision dance with everyone kicking up at the same time, twirling in unison and bowing off en masse, but to an intricate ballet in which the individual dancers and ensembles all have distinctive parts which miraculously reinforce each other and compose an orderly whole.”<sup>84</sup>

<sup>84</sup> Jane Jacobs, “The Uses of Sidewalks: Safety,” from *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*, 1961, reprinted in ed., Richard T. LeGates and Frederic Stout, *The City Reader*, p. 107.

Jacobs' improvisation of street movement emphasizes a free expression of dancers that exists within accepted limits, a certain rhythm, mood, and order.<sup>85</sup> This improvisation of street movement illustrates the movement in cities as a dance in a theatre as a response to urban life. Movement in the city shows a rhythm in cityscape both as a result of and resulting from the relationship between people and space. Different groups of people have their unique rhythm and style of movement on the streets which can be likened to dancing in a theatre. It represents an authentic lived experience. The movement in a city is an authentic expression in space, sharing the same principle with a dance theatre with "emphasis on the unadorned living body and the unalloyed beauty of natural movement."<sup>86</sup>

The performances in a city theatre are represented not only by the movements of inhabitants and social events but also by its architecture. This urban architecture in cities:

"...Does not merely set the background, the stage set, for the theatre of life. Rather, through operations and acts of its own body (programmes revealed in time, rhythms of geometry, materials and their typological codes), architecture constructs a fiction as displaced reality, as a reality on a stage, a *mise-en-scène* that always contains its own temporal dimension in delay."<sup>87</sup>

The form and content of architecture records the changes within society and represents the authenticity at that time. These buildings are the spatial reflection of social actions, however, it is difficult to define their authenticity because of the increasing proliferation of cultural simulation on the architecture. Thus, this

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85 Ibid., pp. 107-108. This freedom of movement is also described in the dance concept of *PASTForward*.

86 "Appia claimed these reforms were the result of a new interest in sports and the revival of the Olympic games in 1896, the sculpture of Rodin and the dancing of Isadora Duncan, all art that placed a new emphasis on the unadorned living body and the unalloyed beauty of natural movement." Christine M. Boyer, *The City*, p. 107.

87 Homa Fardjadi, "Delayed Space: Performance and the Labours of Architecture," in eds., Homa Fardjadi, *Delayed Space- Work of Homa Fardjadi and Mohsen Mostafavi*, (New York: Princeton Press, 1996), p. 15.

theatrical metaphor of city suggests one more dimension for studying cityscape from social events and street movements which can be helpful to recognize these simulations.

In summary, the spatial theories which I have encountered suggest an abstract analysis of visual elements, city planning, and spatial theory is unable to explain extremely urbanised contemporary cities. A growing number of scholars see urban space as a social product, an interaction of historicity, sociality and spatiality, to use Soja's term. It is convincing that we should analyse cityscape from a social aspect which will enable us to identify authenticity in cities. Lefebvre and Soja persuade us to explore the spatial transformation caused by social changes in everyday life. The rapid changes of social relations, such as economic and political forces, are reflected in the fragmentation and homogenisation of capitalised cityscape. Soja invites us to analyse space by "trialectical thinking" which "allows issues such as class, gender, and race to be addressed equally and simultaneously."<sup>88</sup> However, these concepts are abstract and lacking a framework in which to apply them to urban observation, and for many people, urban observation is often based on the implicit assumption of a common perspective rather than an elaborate analysis. Thus, connecting the methods of reading cityscape from visual image, spatial cognition, city discourse, social space and theatrical metaphor with an understanding of authenticity, offers a comprehensive view in urban observation. (Fig. 19) Hence, I propose a conceptual framework of urban observation that links spatial theory with the real world.

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<sup>88</sup> Robbins comments that, "Trialectical thinking means always thinking about 'other,' an act Soja describes as 'thirthing-as othering,' allows issues such as class, gender, and race to be addressed equally which and simultaneously." Edward Robbins, "The Trouble with Trialectics: Space, Time, and City," *Design Book Review*, p. 118.

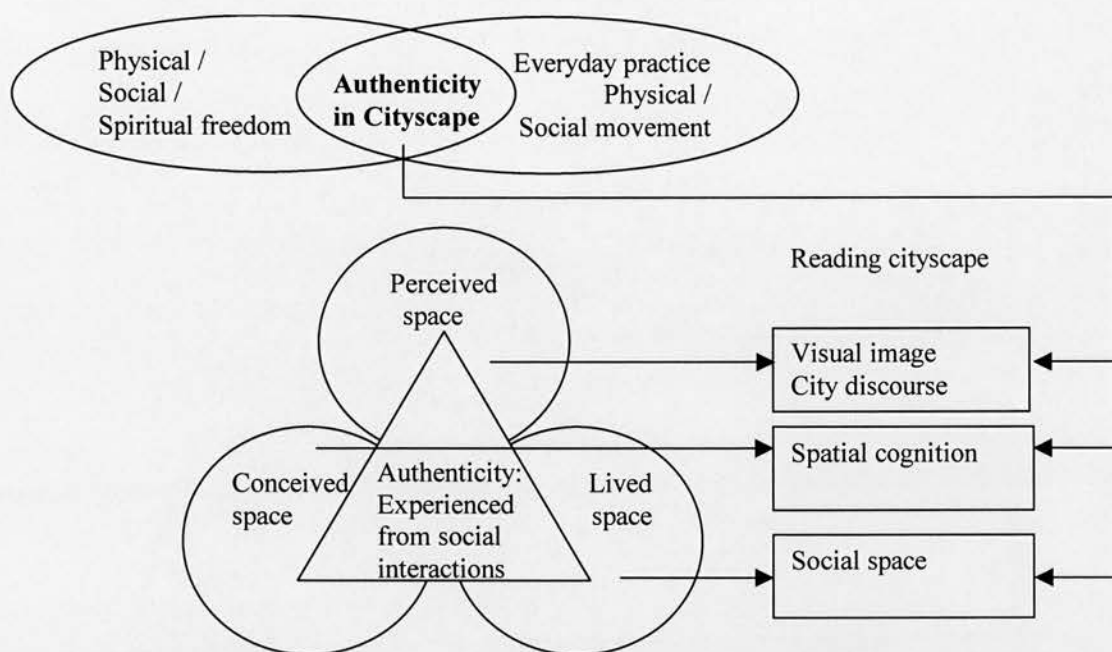


Fig. 19. The relationship between the concept of authenticity and the observation of cityscape.



### 1.3 A Framework for Understanding Authentic Cityscape

#### 1.3-1 A Framework for Urban Observation

“In this unique world, everything sensuous that I now originally perceive, everything that I have perceived and which I can now remember or about which others can report to me as what they have perceived or remembered, has its place.”<sup>89</sup>

Here Husserl points out that the urban experience involves individual personal existence within a particular place. This interaction between people and space conduces to the urge for the authenticity in today's ambiguous cityscape. Earlier spatial studies have individually focused on observation of the space from either physical or mental dimensions, as we have discussed in section 1.2. They illustrate the various approaches to read cityscape from visual image, spatial cognition, and city discourse. More recent approaches focusing on social space seem capable of understanding the problem of the authenticity which is caused by the design deceit, the simulation of mass media and the domination of capital. Hence, the framework of my urban observation is based on this understanding of the social aspect as criteria of authenticity.

The framework is grounded on Lefebvre's “three moments of social space,” and Soja's trialectical thinking,<sup>90</sup> which provides the basic elements for attributing authenticity in cityscape. A refined framework is derived from the discussion of the concepts of authenticity in the city. It illustrates the observation of cityscape through social space. The context of observation on the section 1.1-2 has led us to define authenticity using the perspectives of sight, personal consciousness, and social relations, in order to avoid the ambiguity caused by commercial invention, design creation and media technology. However, although the physical form and content of streetscape is rather the proliferation of myths in the metropolis, the possibility of

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<sup>89</sup> Edmund Husserl, (*Experience and Judgment: Investigations in a Genealogy of Logic*, 1973), cited in Edward S. Casey, *Remembering: A Phenomenological Study*, (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987), p. 181.

<sup>90</sup> Lefebvre's ‘three moments of social space’ are: Spatial Practice (perceived space), Representations of Space (conceived space), and Space of Representation (lived space). Soja's ‘trialectical thinking’ is a balanced view of historicity, sociality and spatiality. Edward W. Soja, *Thirdspace*, p. 65.

authenticity exists where origin, reality, and simulation are inseparable from the social relations and the living experience of inhabitants. This lived experience consists of an interaction between the inhabitants and space within the character of historicity, sociality and spatiality. The movement of bodies in the city is also an important index to see the interaction between people and space, and responses to social changes. Mobility within space, which includes both physical and social movement, should therefore be added to the categories of city observation.

Considering authenticity, defined as the spatial reflection of lived experience of the city’s inhabitants, accounts for social aspect of urban observation. (Fig. 20) The following categories are proposed as criteria of authenticity generated from the above discussion of Lefebvre and Soja.

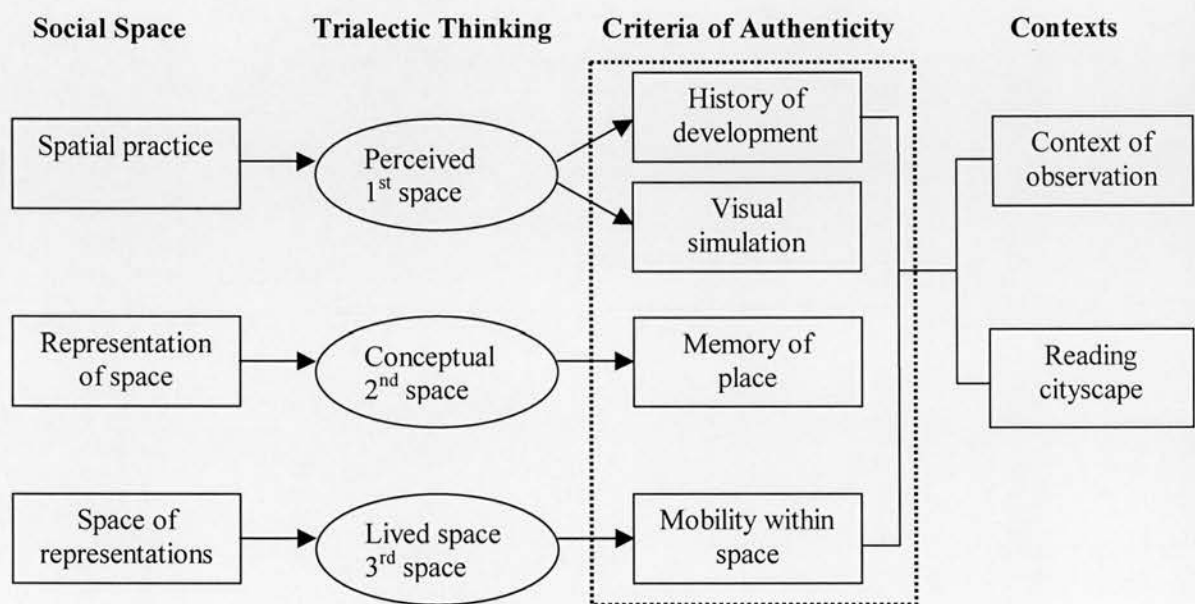


Fig. 20. A conceptual diagram for identifying authenticity in cityscape.

Within ‘Spatial Practice,’ I define the categories of History of Development and Visual Simulation because they directly perceive and create the material form of space. In ‘Representations of Space,’ I define the category of Memory of Place as it explores the mental dimension of cityscape, referring to the political power and ideology. Within ‘Space of Representation,’ I define Mobility within Space because it records the changes in society and the use of space. Therefore, these four

categories of urban observation are considered criteria of authenticity through which I explore authenticity in cityscape from: history of development, memory of place, visual simulation, and mobility within space.

#### 1. History of development:

Streetscape is largely determined by the history of its development. This criterion emphasizes the analysis on the material form of space derived from 'Spatial Practice.' This material form is directly perceivable from the cityscape such as building styles and other sensual experience. However, technology and the media have transformed the representation of cityscape and thus it is difficult to recognize its reality. One would need to know the history in order to understand exactly what one is perceiving. Knowledge of the history of development will uncover the deceit and help to untangle the confusion of architectural form and material. With emphasis on the power struggle between different authorities and the observer's knowledge, "authenticity" is apparently revealed in today's assorted architectural styles and materials. This is directly related to whether they are appropriate to the methods and materials of their time and location, and whether they express the transformation of the society in history. The individual both perceives and determines what is to be regarded as authentic within a historical context.

The history of development shows how different cultural impacts contributed to the creation of cityscape. In order to avoid the expansion of placeless landscape, a diversity of cultural resources have been adopted into the creation of cityscape. However, this use of various resources has also caused difficulties in identifying authentic cityscape because they themselves expand the process of the transformation "from local to global images, from public to private institutions, and from ethnically and racially homogeneous communities to those that are more diverse."<sup>91</sup>

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<sup>91</sup> Zukin states that the stakes of cultural reorganisation are most visible in these shifts in the sources of cultural identity. Sharon Zukin, *The Culture*, p. 24.

The historical awareness of invented or recreated culture is especially effective as a critical tool to distinguish between “authentic” cityscape and that caused by invented tradition and false architectural forms using inappropriate historical elements. The constituents of the history of development are political changes, economic forces, city development plans and street patterns.

## 2. The memory of place:

The memory of place is a key factor in the ‘Representation of Space’ that records social changes and documents the continuity of past experience in the city. Lefebvre and Soja claim this ‘Representation of Space’ is a mental space, shaped by political power and the ideology of society, and is represented in knowledge, signs, and codes. These signs and codes stimulate spatial experience conditioning our sensual experience, such as: sight, smell, touch, and hearing. These sensual stimulations create our memory of place and reveal social changes in this conceived space. The memory of place thus is the result of the viewer’s conceptions and social values in interaction with various environmental stimulants.

Memory is an important ‘mental aspect’ in the representation of space, directed towards authenticity; the memory of place involves the personal conception of the place, which evokes sensual experience and social tradition. It expresses the mental dimension of cityscape through emotional, sensual and objective dimensions. Even in contemporary cityscape, where the adoption of new materials and methods continuously alter the spatial experience in urban life, the potential for authenticity exists in traditions and connects with people’s memory.<sup>92</sup> For example, today the Piazza del Campo in Siena maintains similar uses as in the medieval times, such as a political forum, a site for secular ceremonies, a regular marketplace, and a site of festivals and religious ceremonies.<sup>93</sup> (Fig. 21) This square remains the location of the historical horse race, the *palio alla tonda*, a regular event which has taken place from 1656 onward. (Fig. 22)

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<sup>92</sup> According to Benjamin, he felt the experience is still embedded in tradition and connected with historical memory if the city once offered pleasurable streets and phantasmagoria visions, beckoning the stroller to explore. M. Christine Boyer, *The City*, p. 23.

<sup>93</sup> Peter G. Rowe, *Civic Realism*, (Cambridge & London: MIT Press, 1999), pp. 28-30.



Fig. 21. The popular use of Piazza del Campo. (Peter G. Rowe, 1999, p. 23)

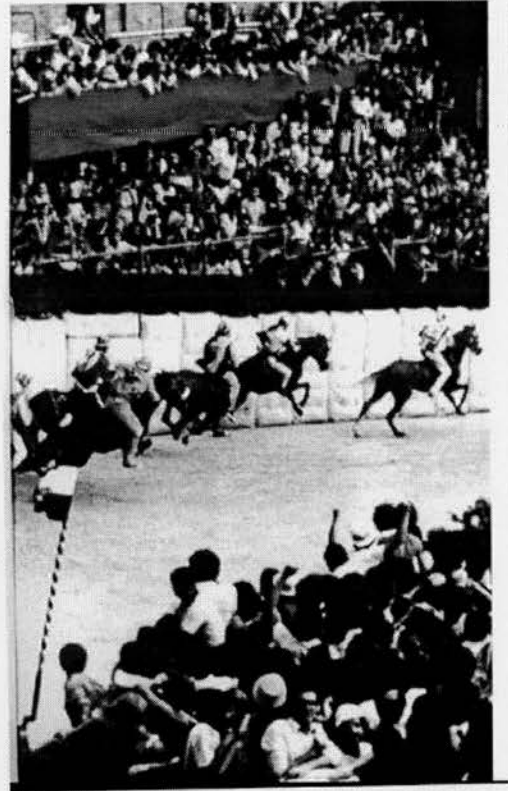


Fig. 22. The historical event, *palio alla tonda* horse racing, on Piazza del Campo. (Peter G. Rowe, 1999, p. 33)

The Piazza also provides the services of café life and a picnic ground for the tourists and the locals. The memory of place echoes to Edward S. Casey's "Place memory",

"It is the stabilizing persistence of place as a container of experiences that contributes so powerfully to its intrinsic memorability. An alert and alive memory connect spontaneously with place, finding in it features that favour and parallel its own activities. We might even say that memory is naturally place-oriented or at least place-supported."<sup>94</sup>

Hayden agrees with Casey's concept and expands the human ability of memory to connect with "both built and natural environments that are entwined in cultural

<sup>94</sup> Edward S. Casey, *Remembering: A Phenomenological Study*, (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987), pp. 186-187.



landscape.”<sup>95</sup> The memory of place therefore is useful for defining the authenticity in cityscape because it helps citizens recognize their public pasts and reveals the relationship between people’s consciousness and places. We can analyse such diverse things as the products in shops, spatial and sensual experience, street events, and customs to unfold the memory of place.

### 3. The visual simulation:

The visual image is the fundamental element of observation. The category of ‘visual simulation’ is derived from ‘Spatial Practice,’ which focuses on material form of space. Perception of physical elements of city form affects the judgement of authenticity. Therefore, when global capital strongly determines and controls the creation of cityscape, the resulting visual simulation of the West and historical pastiche is felt to compromise authenticity. Such simulations create a proliferation of myths of authenticity.

However, “the question of representation is central to debates about who represents whom, what stories are told by whom and how, and what investments are made in taking such speaking positions.”<sup>96</sup> Such debate arises when the heritage industry and historical conservation are in conflict. Helaine Silverman gives a vivid example by the “new ancient” city of Peru, Cuzco.

“Cuzco’s current (1992-present) municipal government is actively privileging the Inca past in an attempt to create a new ancient city that will be the tourist capital of Peru and the Americas. The municipality has been working to create a controlled historical narrative Cuzco and its Inca past by physical alternation of the city’s space. Pedestrian tourist traffic is being preferentially routed through certain streets of the city by means of didactic mosaic tile maps placed on walls that direct visitors from one Inca monument to another, largely excluding buildings of the Colonial

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95 Dolores Hayden, *The Power of Place- Urban Landscapes as Public History*, (Cambridge & London: MIT Press, 1997), p. 46.

96 Karen Burns, “A House for Josephine Baker,” in eds., G. B. Nalbantoğlu and C.T. Wong, *Postcolonial Space(s)*, (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1997), p. 71.

and Republican periods from this open-air museum script...The municipal government also is visually enhancing major vehicular arteries for both tourists and residents with new monumental art that portrays the official (Inca) version of Peruvian history. A 'hyper-authentic' Cuzco is being created top-down and imposed on the diverse residents of the actual city..."<sup>97</sup>

This physical and visual simulation is highly ideological and it controls the representation of the city. Nevertheless, although these visual images are a powerful influence on how we read cityscape, a purely semiological analysis is not enough to explain the complicated social interactions in the city and the different ideologies behind its physical structure. This visual representation should extend our understanding of cities by connecting physical stimulation to personal experience and cultural background. We can seek authenticity in the transformation of buildings, people engaged in commercial activities, images in the mass media and proliferation of advertising signage.

#### 4. Mobility within space:

Mobility within space is an important indicator of change in society and is conditioned by lifestyles and their varying use of space. This includes both physical and social movements. This mobility demonstrates the character of a 'Representational Space' which is alive, fluid and dynamic. To use Lefebvre's words,

"Representational space is alive, it has an affective kernel (noyan) or centre: Ego, bed, bedroom, dwelling, house; or square, church, graveyard.

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<sup>97</sup> Cuzco was the ancient Inca capital in Peru and today is the self-designated archaeological capital of America. The city is a palimpsest with multiple cultures such as Inca, Indian and Spanish. It can be documented as early as c. 1500 AD, prior to the arrival of the Spanish in 1532. "In the past decade there has arisen a veritable cult of Inca 'hyper-authenticity.' This is exemplified in the privileging of Inca architecture, the re-creation of Inca festivals, and the orthographic switch from Cuzco, the Hispanic spelling, to Qosqo, the transliterated Quechua spelling." Helaine Silverman, "The New Ancient City of Cuzco, Peru: Appropriation and the Changing Nature and Locus of Authenticity," paper presented in the *Second Savannah Symposium: Authenticity in Architecture*, Abstracts of Papers, 16th February 2001.

It embraces the loci of passion, of action, of lived situations, and this immediately implies time... it is essentially qualitative, fluid and dynamic."<sup>98</sup>

His words express the dynamic character of space describing the alteration and mobility. Mobility within space represents such dynamic interactions between people and space as lived experience. For example, the movement of people on streets reflects the alteration of transportation and the change of attractions on streets. Therefore, the experience of walking is more than just a means for getting from A to B, but a lively response to the social and spatial changes. Despite the fast changing experience of urban life, spatial experience is still deep-rooted in tradition and connects with historical memory on streets.<sup>99</sup>

Mobility within space records the changes and continuity of urban experience and therefore is recourse for considering the possibility of authenticity. It relates the life of local people to space, and helps to establish the collective memory of the city. Often this involves social and political policies underlying urban development. Social activities such as social events and political protests show another type of mobility and they influence the memory of place because these places are "a focus where we experience the meaningful events of our existence."<sup>100</sup> Therefore, this social mobility involving citizen participation is an important factor shaping cityscape and the perception of "authentic" cityscape.

Mobility within space is particularly affected by commercial culture. Benjamin also emphasizes the role of commerce in creating space. He names this force which arises from capitalism and industrialization, the "reactivation of mythic powers."<sup>101</sup> This commercial power changes the urban condition and thus mobility within space.

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<sup>98</sup> Henri Lefebvre, *The Production*, p. 42.

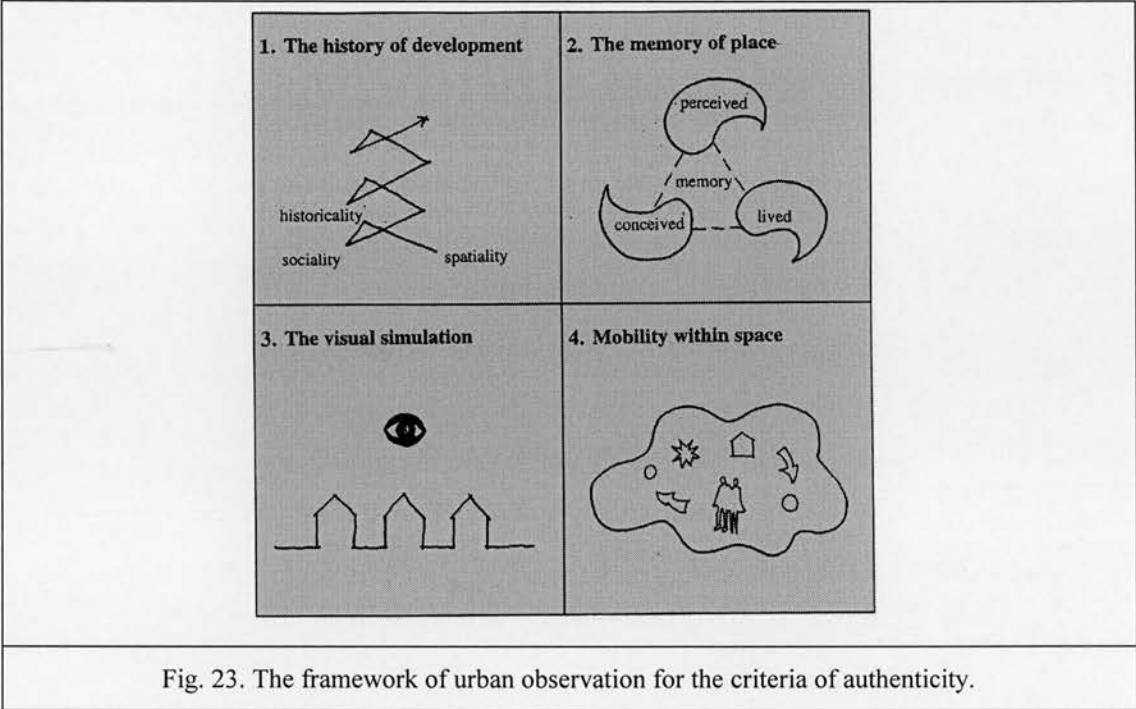
<sup>99</sup> Christine Boyer argues that, "despite the fast-changing experience of urban life, spatial experience is still deep-rooted in tradition and connects with historical memory if the city once offered pleasurable streets and phantasmagorical visions, beckoning the stroller to explore." M. Christine Boyer, *The City*, p. 23.

<sup>100</sup> Christian Norberg-Schulz, *Existence, Space and Architecture*, (London: Studio Vista, 1971), p. 19.

<sup>101</sup> Susan Buck-Morss, *The Dialectics*, p. 253.

Therefore, we can understand the changing nature of cityscape by observing the mobility within space, for example, from the changes of consumer culture, commodities, the use of space, and social and political movements. We explore “authentic” spatial experience in this fluid and dynamic cityscape.

To conclude, the above four categories of urban observation seek the possibility for authenticity as a contextual category of social space. In order to bridge the gap between this abstract concept and observation, I summarise the preceding discussion in a conceptual diagram of urban observation. (See Fig. 20 above & Fig. 23)



Inspired by these spatial concepts, I think the authenticity of cityscape can be identified in social space by considering the following four aspects: 1. The history of development: This shows a constant process of political and social interaction in the formulation of space, 2. The memory of place: This involves the sensual experience in cityscape through the personal interaction with environment, 3. The visual simulation: This reveals itself in the cityscape when signs of power and knowledge shape space. These visual images can be perceived and experienced in body experience and through various media, and 4. Mobility within space: Here space records constant change in society. These changes express the mobility in form,

content, and movement in cities. As a framework of urban observation, these four criteria are analysed through image studies, spatial cognition, city discourse, and the social space.

### **1.3-2 The Framework Applied to Two Streets in Taipei**

Taipei is chosen to test this conceptual framework because its historical, social, and spatial backgrounds form an intimate locality within the worldwide contexts of urban development and global restructuring. Taipei's cityscape has been affected by intensive political, social, and economic changes, such as the colonial occupation of the Japanese between 1895-1945. The occupation was followed by the large-scale political migration from Mainland China after 1949. And, since the 1970s, the cityscape has responded to the imposition of the global economy. Under the process of urbanization and globalisation, this city was given form, by practices and ideas derived from its social, economic, and political circumstances, but also by changing values and beliefs.

For example, the cityscape of Taipei echoes to these social changes and simulations. Thus, there is a shop, 'Fast Lane,' which sells the 1950s clothes, shoes, records and all sorts of accessories on one of the modern streets, Chung-Hsiao East Road, while the newest designer products are sold in the adjacent 'Tippy' department store. A Manhattan style skyscraper, Hsin-Kuang Building, vertically dominates the skyline of the city rising above the traditional horizontal Chinese style roof of Taipei Station just opposite. The café festival spreads the aroma of Espresso and Cappuccino evoking a Southern European atmosphere on An-Ho Road. Meanwhile, during the festival of Chinese New Year, the custom of purchasing traditional herbal medicine and food continues on the historical Ti-Hua Street. And, moreover, the multi-story mansions in the city centre are promoted with the names of 'Buckingham,' 'Louvre,' and 'Hollywood.' These mansions are decorated with red tiled towers or tree lined avenues intended to create an image of foreign taste. These artificially constructed places and their activities are dominated by the principle of simulation, and do not necessarily have contextual references to local history. Therefore, when we walk in the city, whether we are in the newly developed East District or in the early



settlements of West District, the architecture and shops present an ambiguous streetscape of “time and space compression,” dominated by the simulation of foreign culture and its commodities.

One of these dominant forces comes from the contrast in ideology with that of the Mainland China. The democratic policy pursued by the Taiwanese government encourages economic development, private capital investment and modernization consciousness. These three processes together drive a highway of modernisation through the cityscape. This constant change, together with the growth of democracy and economic development, encourages the inhabitants of Taipei in a boundless and creative curiosity for Western culture.<sup>102</sup>

As a result, the city’s past is not cherished during the process of modernization. Taipei becomes one of those modern cities that generate a stimulating and exciting maelstrom of cultural conflict and change, which formulates a dynamic and fluid cityscape with new communication technologies and with the influence of Postmodernism. According to Iain Chambers, Taipei represents the characteristic contemporary cityscape where fashions combine with variety of media creating images and diverse histories that are daily mixed and “scratched” together as if on a giant screen.

“The sights and sounds of the urban scene- advertising, music, cinema, television, fashion, magazines, video clips- exists in the rapid circuits of electronic production/reproduction/distribution. They are not unique artefacts but objects and events multiplied a thousand, a million times over...In this collage of sights we discover the immediate co-ordinates of the present: where existing meanings and views, ideas and opinions, are reproduced; where social practices are formed and experienced; where dogma and innovation, prejudice and change, find expression.”<sup>103</sup>

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102 This is an implication that democracy demands choice, i.e. freedom of choice. This concept is exploited by capitalism, which claims that it offers choice (competition) and therefore democracy.

103 Iain Chambers, *Popular Culture- the Metropolitan Experience*, (London & New York: Routledge, 1986), p. 185.

Similarly a plethora of commercial signs dominate the streetscape of Taipei reflecting the growing capitalist society and the demand for social change. The speed of substitution of the signs and their sheer physical size indicate the drive for economic success. (Fig. 24)



Fig. 24. Commercial signs dominate the streetscape of Taipei. (Postcard published by Osima Co., 1997).

Chambers' perspective highlights the similar difficulty in understanding of the streetscape and authenticity in modern Taipei. In addition, "The mass media can create a presence whose aura makes the spectator seem to experience a nonexistent actuality."<sup>104</sup> Thus Chambers states, "Metropolitan life has become the semi logical nexus between the imaginary and 'reality'. Its increasingly cosmopolitan syntax has simultaneously extended our world and sharpened the comparative sense of the immediate, the local and the particular."<sup>105</sup> The cityscape often presents an individual gesture without content to the society. Such a gesture appears to be lacking authenticity. This phenomenon is increasingly seen in the homogeneous streetscape in Western society as well as in the rapidly growing cities of Asia.

The spatial organisation of Taipei reflects the growing diversity and complexity of its commercial, social, and recreational activities. However, continuity exists within

<sup>104</sup> Trent Schroy *Ther*, Forward to *The Jargon of Authenticity*, p. xiv.

<sup>105</sup> Iain Chambers, *Popular Culture*, p. 187.

these changes so that they remain essentially Taiwanese. Hence my quest to identify the authenticity in the cityscape of Taipei must focus on the social interaction that creates this dynamic city. One must try to understand how these social practices operate in shaping both the cityscape of Taipei and the everyday life of the streets.

This application draws attention to the everyday space of shopping streets. By tracing the prosperity and decline of streets, the rise and fall of shops, the flowing in and out of commodities, and the formation and reformation of urban space, the “authenticity” of Taipei’s cityscape is conveyed. The theoretical framework is applied in an empirical and visual method. Two streets in Taipei-- Ti-Hua Street, and Chung-Hsiao East Road are observed in order to explore the key features of the cityscape through close relations between the spatiality of everyday life and users. I attempt to discover in what form “authenticity” might be said to exist in cityscape beneath this metropolitanisation, and whether the inhabitants of Taipei adapt to and absorb influences of metropolitan culture while, however, retaining their own cultural identities.

I intend to answer the research questions: 1. How do people define the authenticity of cityscape and recognize the character of a place? 2. How do we understand the social meaning of the streetscape in Taipei, and possibly in other cities? 3. How do social and political factors create the cityscape?

Criteria have been developed for understanding cityscape and for assessing “authenticity” in cityscape. The application of selected streets will show the characteristic phenomenon in a systematic method. The result of the analysis might be incorporated into design guidelines for enhancing the sense of place for future urban design in Taipei. The process of interpreting cityscape will illuminate the abstract "reading" of authenticity. I hope that the result of this urban analysis, which is concerned with the whole of the society, will provide an open window through which one can distangle the complexities of the modern world.

Case study is the method chosen to support my research framework and connect the abstract concept to the real-world observation. I choose to do so because it is "a

strategy for doing research which involves an empirical investigation of a particular contemporary phenomenon within its real life context using multiple sources of evidence".<sup>106</sup> The case studies of my analysis combine 1) a conceptual framework, 2) a set of reference points of urban observation, and 3) methods for collecting data. The data collection takes into consideration of visual images, spatial cognition, city discourse, social space and theatrical metaphor. These studies will illustrate how to apply the conceptual framework to analyse cityscape.

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<sup>106</sup> Colin Robson, *Real World Research*, (Oxford & Cambridge: Blackwell, 1993), p. 146.

**Chapter Two**

**The Formation of the Streetscape in Taipei**

This chapter aims to introduce the formation of streetscape in Taipei by its particularity, examining its historical, political, economic, social, and topographical characters. This particularity of streetscape in Taipei shows that the spatial transformation of cities in Taiwan is the outcome of the inhabitants’ adeptness at absorbing influences of an altering society as well as retaining their cultural identities while transforming their living environments.

The spatial structure of Taipei reflects the growing diversity and complexity of its commercial, social, and recreational activities. The most intense focus will take place around the streets where there are an astonishing variety of activities and where a wide selection of goods is offered by shops and itinerant peddlers. This draws attention to the everyday space of the shopping streets and to their historical and social content. By tracing the prosperity or decline of streets and the formation and reformation of urban space, the character of Taipei is conveyed. The historical Ti-Hua Street and the modern Chung-Hsiao East Road are examined in detail in Chapter Three and Four to see to what extent continuity and change exist in the state of flux of a globalised society. The history of the formation of the streetscape will help us to understand how these political, social, economic factors operate, and why consideration of cityscape as social space is essential in the contemporary city.

**2.1 Introduction to Taipei**

**2.1-1 The History of the Taiwanese Street**

Taiwan has undergone striking political, economic, social and physical changes over the last century. It has experienced monarchy (the Ching dynasty), Japanese colonialism and now its own democratic system, as the Republic of China. (Fig. 1)

Ching dynasty	Japanese Occupation	Republic of China
Before 1885	1885-1945	After 1945

Fig. 1. The political periods of Taiwan under different authorities.



Cities in Taiwan, therefore, represent unique ideologies by virtue of their social and spatial structure throughout different historical periods and are identified by their differing political advocacy with Mainland China at present.<sup>1</sup>

There are two particular political and economic bases, which influence the landscape and life of cities in Taiwan. Firstly, democracy and freedom of speech encourage the influence of capitalism on the creation of urban space in conjunction with that of the authority of the state on the city development. Secondly, the burgeoning economy is the dominant force for the rapid urbanisation of the country and modernisation of existing cities. The rapid economic growth of Taiwan built up its reputation as one of the "Asian Tigers" in the 1970s, resisting the "Economic Crisis" of 1997. This led to instant cities in which new buildings and roads completely replace the old cityscape.

Taipei, the capital of Taiwan, accommodates enormously complex public life, which reflects its democratic, capitalistic, and cultural characters. Thus, exploring the history of streetscape in Taipei is an effective way to understand the diversity of Taiwanese urban life and space.

The original character of the streets resulted from its history as a trading centre. Historically, Taipei has benefited from its geographical location beside the Tamsui River and was the entrance to Mainland China from the sea. (Fig. 2) It became an important centre for those countries that have traded with China since the seventeenth century.<sup>2</sup> (Fig. 3) This economic advantage brought economic migration, foreign intrusions, political migration, and modernisation in history, and formulated unique and diverse cultural resources, which were reflected in the spatial transformation of the streetscape.

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1 Even under the threat by China that armed force could be used against Taiwan if it headed for independence, there are still nearly 90% Taiwanese agreed that Taiwan is not a province of China. John Gittings, "Chinese threaten Taiwan with force", *The Guardian*, 20 July 1999.

2 Tao-Chang Chiang, (1966: 155-163), in Yu-Chein Hsu *The Cultural Transformation of Urban Space- A Case Study in Colonial Taipei (1895-1945)*, (Ph. D. Thesis, National Taiwan University, Taipei, 1993), p. 31.

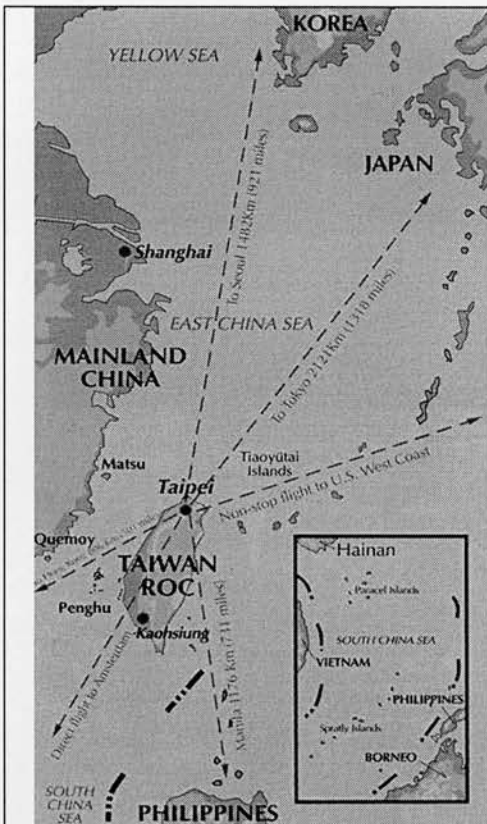


Fig. 2. The location of Taipei showing its relative position to Mainland China and surrounding countries. (Government Information Office, A Brief Introduction to the Republic of China, 1996, Plate)

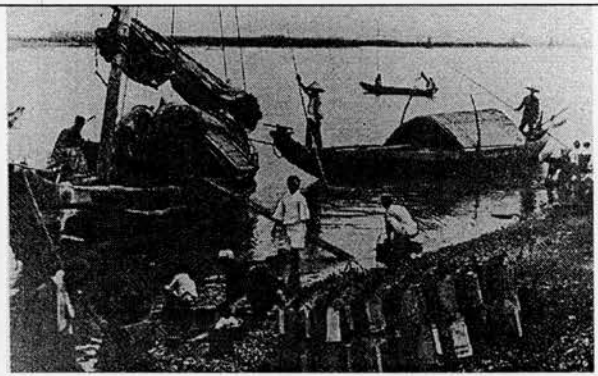


Fig. 3. The harbour on the Tamsui River enhanced the development of Taipei in the Ching dynasty. (Chuang Yu-Min, 1996, p. 23).

Historically, there are four major periods which established the formation of streetscape. Firstly, there was the early migration from the Mainland during the Ching dynasty (1709-1894).<sup>3</sup> Immigrants from Chuanchow, in Fukien Province began to arrive in this area and develop the land in 1709. Until 1732, migration to Taiwan was officially allowed by the Ching government, and the large migrant population created a commercial port and market town by the Tamsui River at the village of Fanshoshih (Sweet Potato City).

Gradually, the majority of immigrants gathered along the bank of Tamsui River, forming further market towns, Munga and Tataocheng. (Fig. 4) These early

<sup>3</sup> Immigrants began to develop the area of Taipei in 1709, although officially, the Ching government allowed people immigrate to Taiwan later in 1732, Tien-Hsia Editors, *Discover Taiwan*, Vol. 2, (Taipei: Tien-Hsia, 1998), p. 520.

settlements were developed as a result of the commercial potential of the river. Munga, Tataocheng, and later Taipei Castle, are the forerunners of modern Taipei.<sup>4</sup>

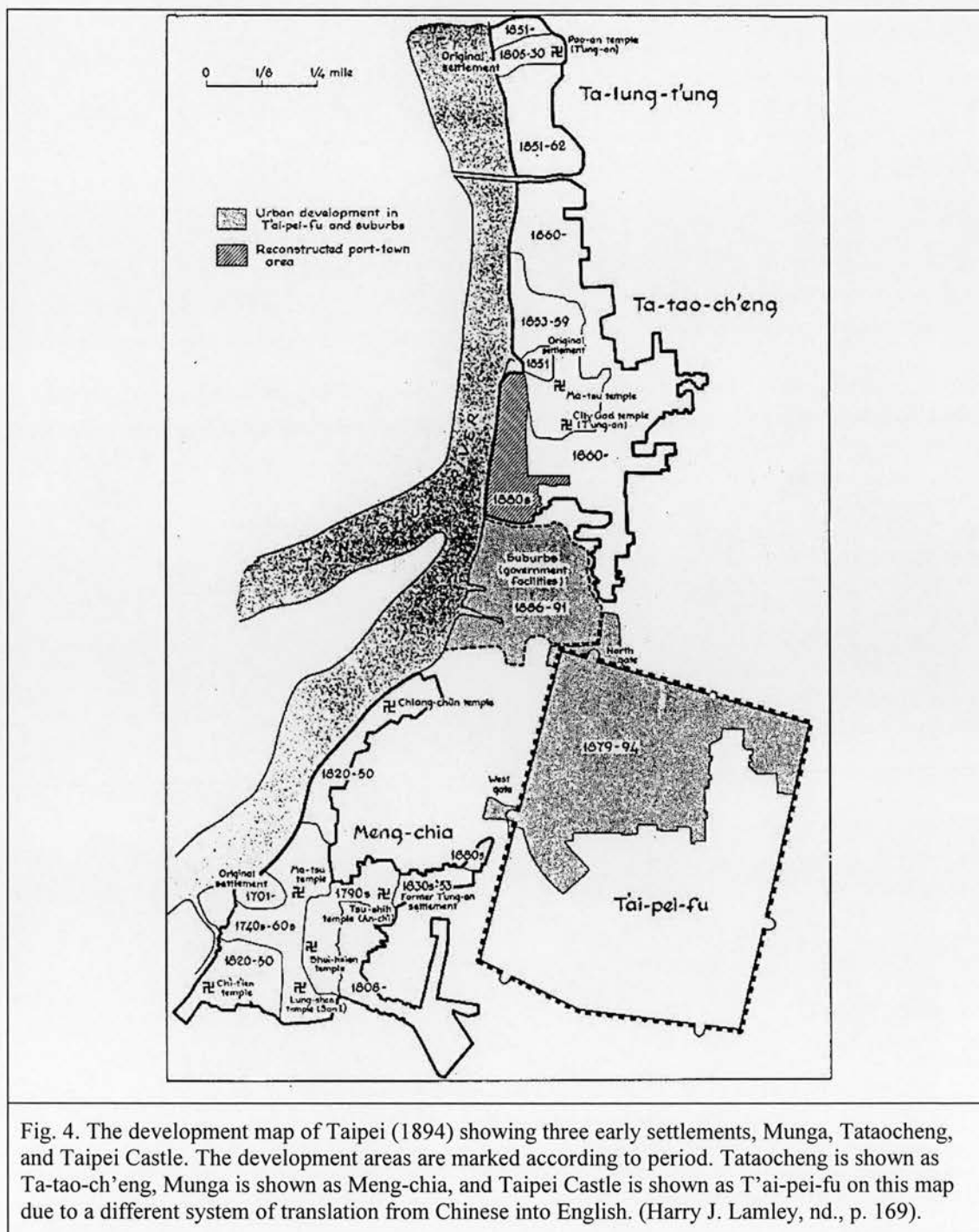


Fig. 4. The development map of Taipei (1894) showing three early settlements, Munga, Tataocheng, and Taipei Castle. The development areas are marked according to period. Tataocheng is shown as Ta-tao-ch'eng, Munga is shown as Meng-chia, and Taipei Castle is shown as T'ai-pei-fu on this map due to a different system of translation from Chinese into English. (Harry J. Lamley, nd., p. 169).

4 Fanshushin sequentially developed to Munga, Tataocheng, and Taipei Castle with their individual backgrounds and characters. These three settlements which were named Sanshin Chieh (Three City Street) later are the prototype of modern Taipei. Taipei City Government, *An Introduction to the Past, Present, and Future of Taipei City*, (Taipei City Government, June, 1996), p. 2.

The Tamsui harbour impelled the transformation of Taipei from a regional agricultural market into an international trade market, when it was opened to the west after the Tientsin Treaty with the allied forces of Britain and France in 1858.<sup>5</sup> Between 1862 and 1894, Tamsui became the biggest trading harbour in Taiwan. Products such as tea, sugar and camphor were exported all over the world,<sup>6</sup> and foreign firms imported opium, textiles, and metal. From 1870, foreign trade created huge surpluses and the first prosperous period of economy in Taiwan.<sup>7</sup> While Taipei became a major trading centre, it nevertheless remained an agricultural society throughout the Ching dynasty. (Fig. 5) The map shows the early street system of the two major towns and the farming pattern of rice field.

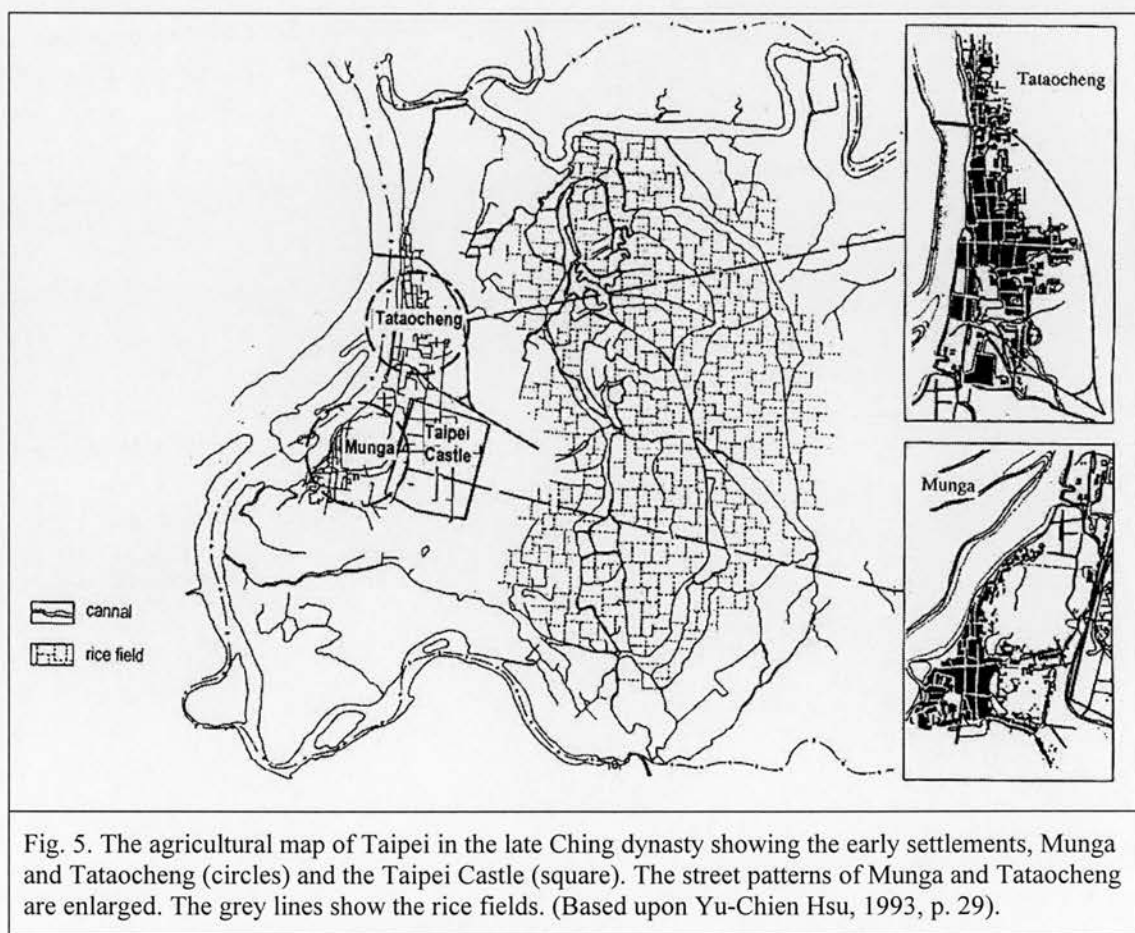


Fig. 5. The agricultural map of Taipei in the late Ching dynasty showing the early settlements, Munga and Tataocheng (circles) and the Taipei Castle (square). The street patterns of Munga and Tataocheng are enlarged. The grey lines show the rice fields. (Based upon Yu-Chien Hsu, 1993, p. 29).

5 Jia-Sheng Dong, (1985: 53), in Yu-Chien Hsu, *The Cultural Transformation*, p. 44.

6 The trade of Taiwan during 1860 to 1895: 90% of Oolong tea was sold to America and 5% was sold to Britain; Beijing tea was sold to South Asia countries. Sugar was sold to China, Japan, America, Australia and New Zealand. Camphor was sold to Germany, Britain, America, and India. Maan-Hong Lin, (1985: 56), in Yu-Chien Hsu, *The Cultural Transformation*, p. 43.

7 Tien Hsia Editors, *Discover Taiwan*, Vol. 1, p. 160.



Secondly, there was the development under the Japanese Occupation (1895-1945). Taipei was developed as an economic, political and cultural centre that would demonstrate the power of the Japanese colonial government. In 1905, the Japanese announced plans for the development of the area known as Taipei Castle. Together with Munga and Tataocheng, the town came to be known as "Taipei Three Street City" and was integrated as a whole. (Fig. 7) The basic street system of Taipei was built up during this period. The inhabitants of Taipei started to live in a controlled colonial environment as the city was organised through a systematic urban planning and the imposition of a colonial life style, which represented the political transformation of space. European style of architecture, street patterns and ways of life were imported by the colonial government. (Fig. 8)

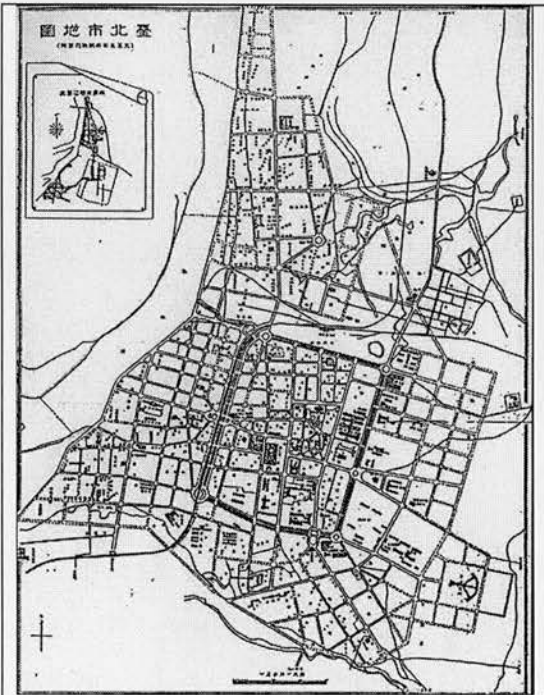


Fig. 6. Map of Taipei in 1905 showing the integration of the early settlements with a grid street pattern. (Shyh-Meng Huang, 1988, p. 75).

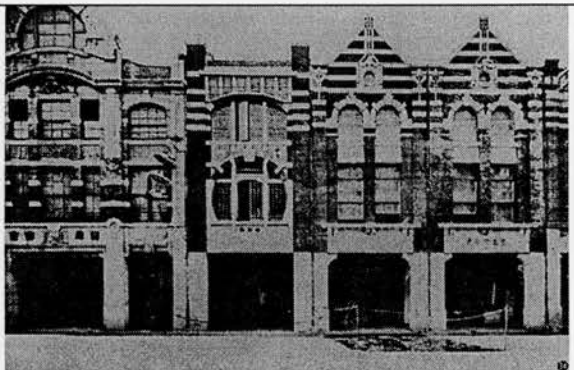


Fig. 7. The buildings on Tsung-Ching South Road around 1920 represented the European influence imposed by the colonial government. (Yu-Min Chuang, 1996, p. 34)

In the third period of development, political migration from the Mainland (1949 to 1968) had a significant impact upon Taipei. The city was developed as a capital by the government of the Republic of China after it lost the civil war to the Communist party of Mainland China and moved to Taiwan in 1949. The political ideology of



democracy resulted in government policy to develop a modern city with its inhabitants efficiently adapting to western culture. Large-scale migration from the Mainland and other cities of Taiwan to Taipei resulted in rapid urbanisation, but the existing developed area was not large enough for this expansion of population. "The City Plan of Taipei" (1932) by the Japanese colonial government continued to be used as the development plan after 1957 by the new KMT government without sufficient provision for expansion. (Fig. 8-9)

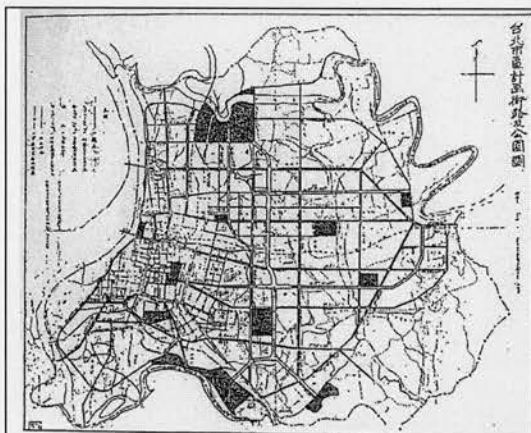


Fig. 8. The City plan of Taipei in 1932. (Shyh-Meng Huang, 1988, p. 79).

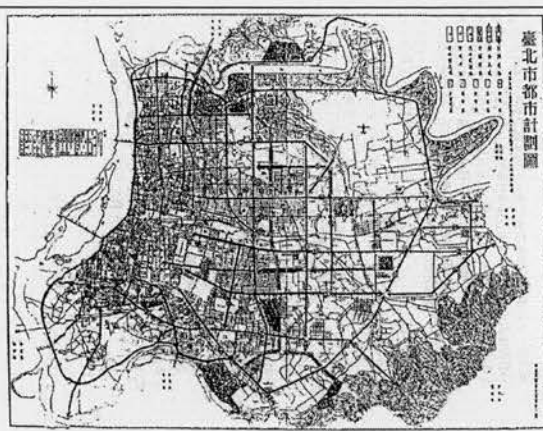


Fig. 9. The city plan of Taipei in 1957 is similar to the plan of 1932, without sufficient expansion to accommodate the increasing population. (Hsu-Cheng Tseng, 1994, p. 49).

Although the government produced "The Construction Plan of Road and Bridge" in 1954 to disperse the traffic, it was a temporary solution.<sup>8</sup> However, the lack of a long-term city plan was a result of the government's policy of preparing for war against communist China and returning to the Mainland, rather than the reconstruction of Taipei as a permanent capital. Because the development plans of the 1950s and 1960s were not adequate to accommodate the increasing population, the city has remained densely populated.<sup>9</sup>

The most recent phase in the development of Taipei was after it was upgraded to a special municipality in 1968. This political change promoted a proper development

8 Hsu-Cheng Tseng, *The Urbanization and Urban Consciousness of Taipei after the Second World War*, (Ph. D. thesis, National Taiwan University, Taipei, 1994), p. 42.

9 For example, the population of Taipei was 594,424 in 1947 and increased to 5,329,000 in 1990. Hsu-Cheng Tseng, *The Urbanization*, pp. 1 & 52.

of city planning for Taipei as a strategy for election because its mayor and city councils are elected by the public. Subsequently, series of renewed city development plans were produced in order to develop Taipei into a metropolitan city. America also influenced city planning, especially during the period of U.S. Aid (1951-1978). As the economic importance of Taipei is increasing in Asia, and with more than fifty years of urban development, free enterprise has become the major force in the creation of urban space.<sup>10</sup> Moreover, the liberal policy towards the media since 1980s has created the possibility of civic participation in the process of city planning. Urban space is becoming increasingly valued and the public sees a role for itself in its creation.

The contemporary cityscape of Taipei has been dominated by drastic urbanisation, depicted by the growth of population and increasing floor space.<sup>11</sup> This incredible growth in such a short time gave the inhabitants of Taipei a thorough change of life and surroundings. As Pao-Te Han states: "Taipei has been changed astonishingly, especially after it was promoted as a special municipality. We renew the environment [of Taipei] totally within a short decade. It is nearly impossible to identify any old cityscape."<sup>12</sup> However, this compressed urbanisation of Taipei formulates a densely populated and modernised streetscape that represents a vivid Taiwanese life even though a homogenous city form is spread over it.

Through the above brief history of streetscape, one can see the connection between the complex and altering streetscape and social changes. The streetscape is complex as a result of political ideology, unregulated urban development, and a collision between traditional culture and the adoption of western culture. It is altering because of the character of migrant society which seeks the economic success and is prepared

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10 According to the economic premise that Knox developed, the importance of Taipei is increasing in Asia. Paul L. Knox, "The Restless Urban Landscape: Economic and Social Culture Change, and the Transformation of Metropolitan Washington DC," 1991, in Hung-Chih Shih, *The Environmental Planning for World City and the Formation of Urban Form- A Case Study on Taiwan City*, (Ministry of the Interior, Taiwan, 1997), pp. 2-13 - 2-14.

11 The increased area of new floor space in Taipei was more than 35,000,000 Ping (around square metres) from 1968 to 1992. Hsu-Cheng Tseng, *The Urbanization*, p.1.

12 Pao-Te Han, *The Phantasmagoria of City*, 1988, in I-Ching Lin, *The Transformation of Metropolitan Situation in Literary Experience- A Case Study of Taipei in Literature from 1950s to 1970s*, (Master thesis, Tung-Hai University, Taichung, 1993), p. 48.

to be flexible in order to adapt the environment efficiently. These social factors are explored in the following pages.

### **2.1-2. Taipei and the Possibility of Authenticity**

In the twentieth century, the cityscape has been influenced enormously by urbanisation and the global economy. City form changes because of the increasing international investment and the spread of information technology, which affects people's everyday life and space. The impulse of urbanisation, which is directed by capitalism, determines life and environment. What distinguishes the cities of today from those of the past is the rapidity of spatial change arising from the process of globalisation. This has resulted in the expansion of placeless landscape, as well as having social and political consequences.

Taipei is a city which witnesses such spatial changes. For example, due to the influence of capitalism on city development, high-rise buildings and a homogeneous city form have been accepted as part of its image as a Metropolitan City. However, while the homogeneous city form replaces the historical buildings with the “placeless landscape,” in the 1970s, demands began to be made for the reinstatement of local identity, that would reflect the memory and origin of the city. A cultural movement for local identity influenced literature, art, new architecture and the conservation of existing architecture. In 1982, statutes for the conservation and regulation of culture assets were set up as a result of this awareness.

This cultural awareness has helped to define “authenticity” in today’s cityscape. Cityscape considered from the perspectives of cultural identity, memory, and social interaction, distinguish spatial changes arising from the process of the globalisation, the expansion of “placeless landscape,” and their social and political consequences. These three perspectives: cultural identity, memory, and social interaction, enable us to understand the multi-layered and simultaneous nature of reality in the contemporary city.

For example, cultural identity is suggested to distinguish “authenticity” from the globalised urban development and the placeless landscape.<sup>13</sup> As this sense of cultural identity introduces social and historical elements, these should provide effective means for comprehending the cityscape. A diversity of cultural resources has become involved in preventing the expansion of “placeless landscape” and also suggests a way to come to terms with the changing cityscape. Under the influence of global transformation, Taipei should thus look for its “authenticity” through a cultural and social approach.

Due to the constant alteration in the cityscape of Taipei, it is useful to associate memory of place to recognize the changes. Christine Boyer argues that, despite the fast-changing experience of urban life, spatial experience is still deep-rooted in tradition and connects with historical memory if the city once offered pleasurable streets and phantasmagorical visions, beckoning the stroller to explore.<sup>14</sup> Thus, cityscape can record the continuity of urban experience in our memory and represent an “authentic” urban life. The “memory of place” that is associated with our sensual experiences, such as: view, smell, touch, and sound, allows us to take possession of the environment.

The contemporary cityscape of Taipei is a result of these social interactions caused by the changes and conflicts of urban life. This tremendous diversity of urban life is in contrast to the homogeneous city form because one’s sense of place is based on interactions between people and environment rather than perception of purely physical form. Therefore, in order to understand the contemporary cityscape of Taipei, we should observe not only the physical form but also the diverse experiences perceived from space.<sup>15</sup> In addition, this experience involving social

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13 See Introduction: note 9 & 10.

14 M. Christine Boyer, *The City of Collective Memory- Its Historical Imagery and Architectural Entertainment*, (Cambridge & London: MIT Press, 1996), p. 23.

15 It is inspired by Soja’s words: “the experience of modernity captures a broad mesh of sensibilities that reflects the specific and changing meanings of the three most basic and formative dimensions of human existence: space, time, and being.” Edward W. Soja, *Postmodern Geographies- The Reassertion of Space in Critical Social Theory*, (London New York Verso, 1989), p. 25.



interactions has expanded urban observation with political and other social involvement because the cityscape also represents the character of social space.<sup>16</sup>

Taipei, the capital city of Taiwan, is chosen for testing my framework of urban observation due to its historical and social particularities. These political and social impacts have been recognized by the cultural industry,

“The freedom [of politics] driving its renaissance have made Taipei a cultural Mecca for artists in the Chinese speaking world. The city represents Asia’s most profitable market for Chinese-language music CDs, although piracy is drastically eating away at artists’ earnings. Taiwanese sitcoms and soap operas are among the most popular in Mainland China. Taipei boasts thousands of publishing houses, compared with 500 in all of China. And the Chinese writers, including the first to win the Nobel Prize for Literature, Gao Xingjian, vie to have their books published in arguably the world’s freest Chinese city. ‘For someone who writes in Chinese,’ Gao said on a visit to Taipei in January, the city is ‘truly home.’”<sup>17</sup>

This “tr[ue] home” of freedom creates a modernized lifestyle and a capitalist influenced cityscape since Taipei is an “instant city” created by capitalists,<sup>18</sup> in which urban landscape changes so quickly that it is hard to identify its origin. However, this compressed urbanisation of Taipei formulates such an ambiguous image, with cosmopolitan and indigenous city forms existing simultaneously, thus that further exploration is needed to identify “authenticity” through personal experience, social relation and political ideology.

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16 For example, Soja states: “These spaces [social space] are also vitally filled with politics and ideology with the real and the imagined intertwined, and with capitalism, racism, patriarchy, and other material spatial practices that concretise the social relations of production, reproduction, exploitation, domination and subjection.” Edward W. Soja, *Thirdspace*, p. 68.

17 Mahlon Meyer, “The Birth of a New Taipei- Citizen pressure has created a clean, green city”, *Newsweek*, 12 March 2001. p. 31.

18 Gunther Barth, *Instant Cities: Urbanization and the Rise of San Francisco and Denver*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1975), p. 5.



Previous research on Taipei has mainly focused on discussions about history, city planning, and policy. Its cityscape is the result of these complex social politics, increased population, and rapid growth. Its “authenticity” has not been fully examined. The key to the “authenticity” of Taipei lies in its streets where people experience urbanity, the sense of local habitation, and the change of lifestyle. These streets, perhaps, constitute the most unique attraction of “authenticity” in Taipei.<sup>19</sup> Taking a stroll around the city, one finds some spaces that evoke the unique sense of place in such historical streets as Ti-Hua Street. Other streets, such as Chung-Hsiao East Road, which is governed by metropolitanisation, still develop their own character from their respective atmospheres, forms and contents. One will not fail to discover, underneath all this metropolitanisation, how adept the inhabitants of Taipei are at absorbing influences, while yet retaining their cultural identities and transforming their living environments. “Authenticity” can be said to exist in the transformation of its physical form and also in the activities on streets where people and space interact.

Therefore, my observation focuses on the interaction between its people, within space and society, and works from the level of the street, presenting the streetscape of Ti-Hua Street and Chung-Hsiao East Road through a dynamic social aspect.

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19 Satya Das states that “Taipei is a lively city...The more I walk on streets, the more I like Taipei. “Getting to know Taipei was a delight,” *The Edmonton Journal*, 8, Nov. 1997.

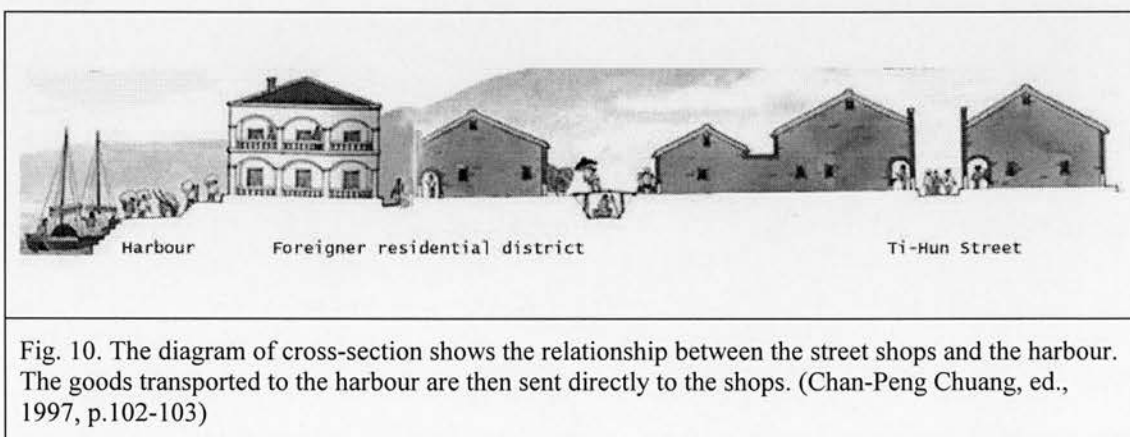
## 2.2 The Development of Street in Taipei

According to the history of the Taiwanese street, four major formulation periods of streetscape were effected by early migration, Japanese Occupation, American influence and globalisation. The individual influences are explored as the follows.

### 2.2-1 Early Migration from the Mainland and Its Effect on the Street Life

The early migration from the Mainland to Taiwan that occurred between 1708 and 1894 had a profound effect on the development of Taipei and its street life. The migrants' influence can be recognized in the relationships between economic activities and early city development, trade unions and a spatial form of streets, and building regulations and street arcades.

1. Economic activities and early city development: Migration transformed Taipei from a regional market town into an international centre of commerce. The trade created huge surpluses in 1870 and enhanced the development of two major market towns, Munga and Tataocheng. These developed wealthy businesses due to the convenient transportation of the Tamsui River and with many busy shops, such as those on Ti-Hua Street. This prosperity continued until the Japanese Occupation. (Fig. 10)



The city's development responded to this economic success, with a residential area for foreigners planned in the Tataocheng-Tamsui trade district. Tataocheng was chosen for this special district rather than the existing prosperous Munga because it was a new commercial area, with more land for development, and its inhabitants

were more open to western culture.<sup>20</sup> This plan stimulated more business activity along the streets in this area. For example, Ti-Hua Street was developed with shops selling a diversity of local and imported products transported along the Tamsui River. It became one of the most prosperous streets in Taiwan. Today, the port is no longer a busy harbour but Ti-Hua Street has changed remarkably little since the Japanese Occupation.

2. Trade unions and the spatial form of streets: A spatial form of streets was structured to meet the particular social needs of the trade union, "Hsing-Chiao." In the Ching dynasty, the "Hsing-Chiao" was a private trade guild, which regulated the quality, size, price of products, and charged tax on behalf of the government. Protected by the government, "Hsing-Chiao" dominated economic activities and controlled social matters, such as religion, festivals, and the leisure activities of local people.<sup>21</sup>

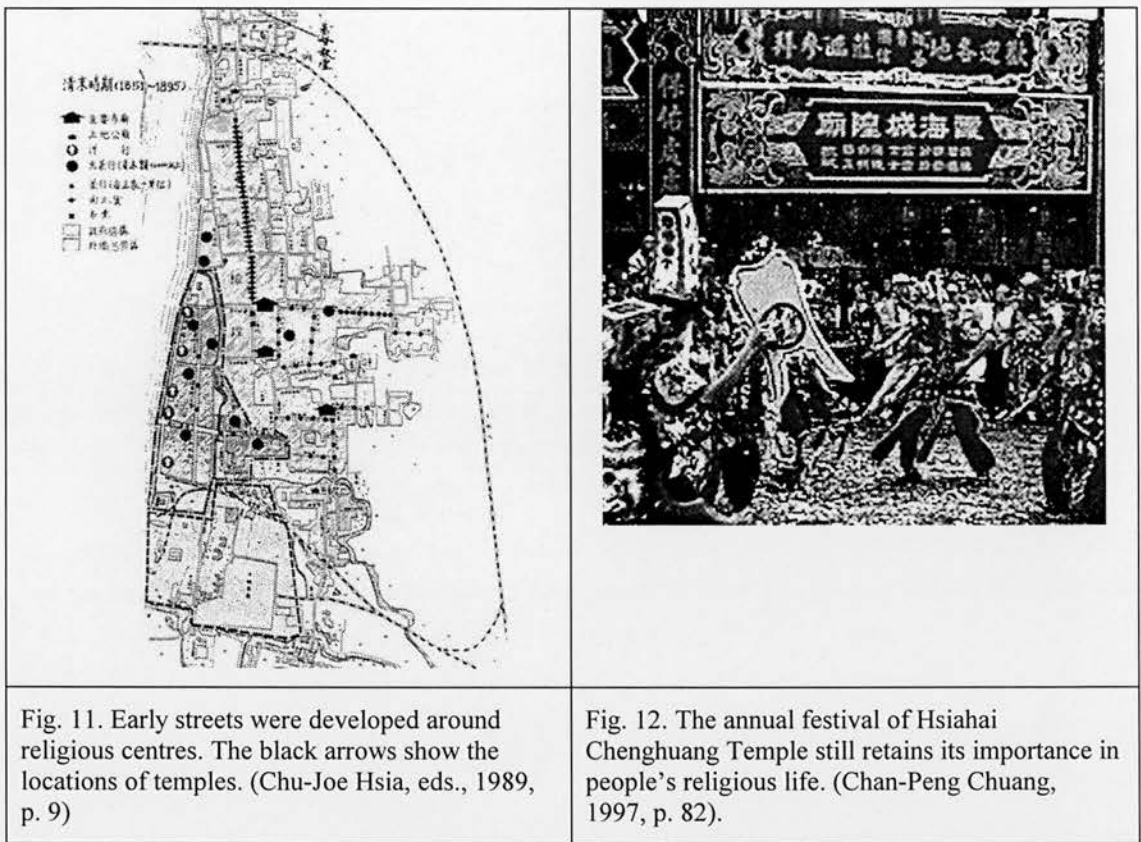
As a result of the alliance of various "Hsing-Chiao" guilds, early streets were often developed by the same clans from a group of market places with a religious centre, such as Lungshan temple in Munga and Hsiahai Chenghuang Temple in Tataocheng. (Fig. 11) Temples determined the orientation of streets and formed a pattern of cross streets that led to a north-south orientated development of the city.<sup>22</sup> This spatial structure of streets shows the close relationship between trade unions and religious activities. A more or less, similar situation prevails today, such as Ti-Hua Street, where shops sell similar products and its religious centre, Hsiahai Chenghuang Temple, still plays an important role in people's lives. (Fig. 12)

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20 Yea-Tarng Lian, 1920, in Yu-Chien Hsu, *The Cultural Transformation*, p. 48.

21 Peng Tse-Yi, (1988: 6-10), in Yu-Chien Hsu, *The Cultural Transformation*, p. 33.

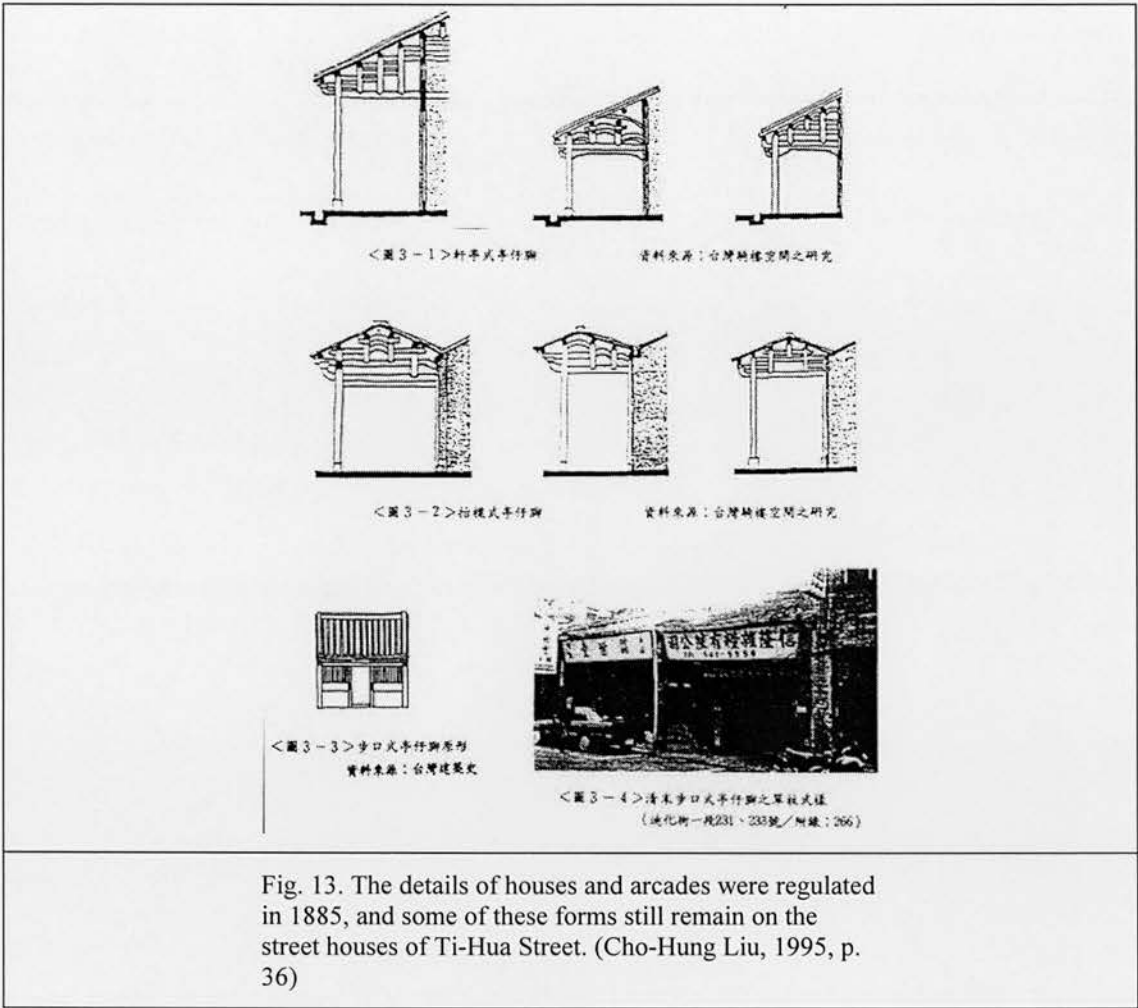
22 Chu-Joe Hsia, Hsu-Cheng Tseng & Chang-Jui Cheng, eds., *Use Survey Report and Development Potential for Ti-Hua Street Special District*, (Taipei City Government, 1989), p. 13.



3. Building regulation and street arcades: Regulations stipulating the materials and forms of buildings were established in 1885 as a part of the construction plan for developing Taipei.<sup>23</sup> (Fig. 13)

This plan was necessitated by the increasing strength of western capitalism, a migrant population and the military potential of Taiwan, which prompted the Ching government to construct Taipei Castle. The major constructions, such as the railway, foreign trade district, harbour and government buildings, contributed to street life and mobility in city.

<sup>23</sup> Cho-Hung Liu, *The Research on the Street Arcade of Taipei during the Japanese Occupation*, (Master thesis, Tung-Hai University, Taichung, 1995), p. 16.



Major constructions around the Tataocheng area and its harbour, showed the economic value of trade and the tea industry in Taipei. An efficient transportation system helped the booming tea industry by bringing workers as well as with imports and exports. The tea trade accounted for 94% of exports during 1882-1891.<sup>24</sup> This industrial development changed the use of space and created a special street scene. Tataocheng and its streets were full of workers in this tea industry. A very common sight in these streets at that time would have been workers picking and drying tea under the street arcades. (Fig. 14)

24 H. B. Morse, (1981: 88), in Yu-Chien Hsu, *The Cultural Transformation*, p. 48.





Fig. 14. People working for the tea industry under the street arcades in the Ching dynasty. (Tien-Hsia editors, Vol. 1, 1992, p. 211)

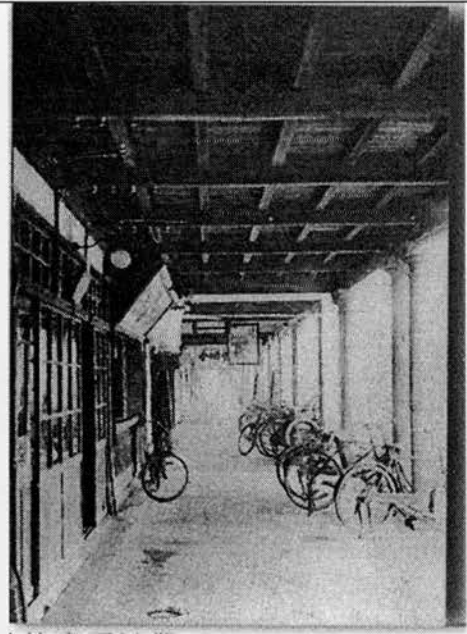


Fig. 15. Photographic view of "Ting Tzu Chiau," which were the early form of street arcades. (Hui-Wen Cheng, 1999, p. 20)

The street arcade is an import part of the character of the streetscape in Taipei. It was first established in the building regulation of 1885. Ming Chuan Liu, the government general of Taiwan between 1885-1891, set up the building regulation of street house and ordered that proprietors should leave a space in front of their buildings and provide arcades, "Ting Tzu Chiau", along the street. A typical form of two-story building with arcade and slanting roof became common in the late Ching dynasty. (Fig. 15) The street arcade in various forms was later enforced by Japanese regulations.

The spatial function of the arcade is to protect people from the semitropical weather but it also provides a buffer zone between indoor and outdoor. It creates a continuity of shopping space and often serves as a flexible space that can be used for production, sale, leisure and religious activities.<sup>25</sup> Shopkeepers use the arcade as a working space or for displaying their goods to attract customers. Gods are worshipped here during the festival time. People enjoy shopping, talking, and

<sup>25</sup> Chu-Joe Hsia, Hsu-Cheng Tseng & Chang-Jui Cheng, eds., *Use Survey Report*, p. 111.

wondering around the arcades. Here the spatial form of streets is integrated with these social and economic factors.

## **2.2-2 Japanese, American, and Global Influence on the Streetscape**

The character of the present streetscape of Taipei is a mixture of the indigenous and foreign. The indigenous character was formed through the development of cross streets by migrants from Mainland China. Afterwards, a series of foreign influences continued to shape the streetscape of Taipei. The first dominant foreign impact on streetscape was the Japanese Occupation of 1895-1945, after Taiwan was ceded to the Japanese following the Sino-Japanese War. During the Colonial Era, the authority of military and government was absolute.<sup>26</sup> The Japanese intended to control the inhabitants through the reformation of space and imposition of a new lifestyle. Their plan for the development of Taipei aimed to construct a "civilised and modernised" city. This involved demolishing the native spatial structure of the city to build "a legible memorial of successful colonial enterprise."<sup>27</sup>

A series of city plans and regulations arose from this modernising impulse of colonial ambition. The "Building Regulation of Housing in Taiwan" 1900 dictated the size, style, window, and method of construction for housing, and the continuation of arcades along street-front houses. The facades of these street houses changed from the "Ting Tzu Chiau" of the Ching dynasty- i.e. a typical form of two-floor building with arcade and slanting roof, to an arcade with an extended floor on the top and flat roof.<sup>28</sup> (Fig. 16-17)

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26 Yu-Chien Hsu, *The Cultural Transformation*, p. 199.

27 Tien Chung I Erh, *The History of Taipei*, 1931, p. 10.

28 Chung-Hsien Yen, *An Analysis of the Cultural Form of shop-houses in Tataocheng during the Japanese Occupation*, (Master thesis, National Taiwan University, Taipei 1990), p. 60.

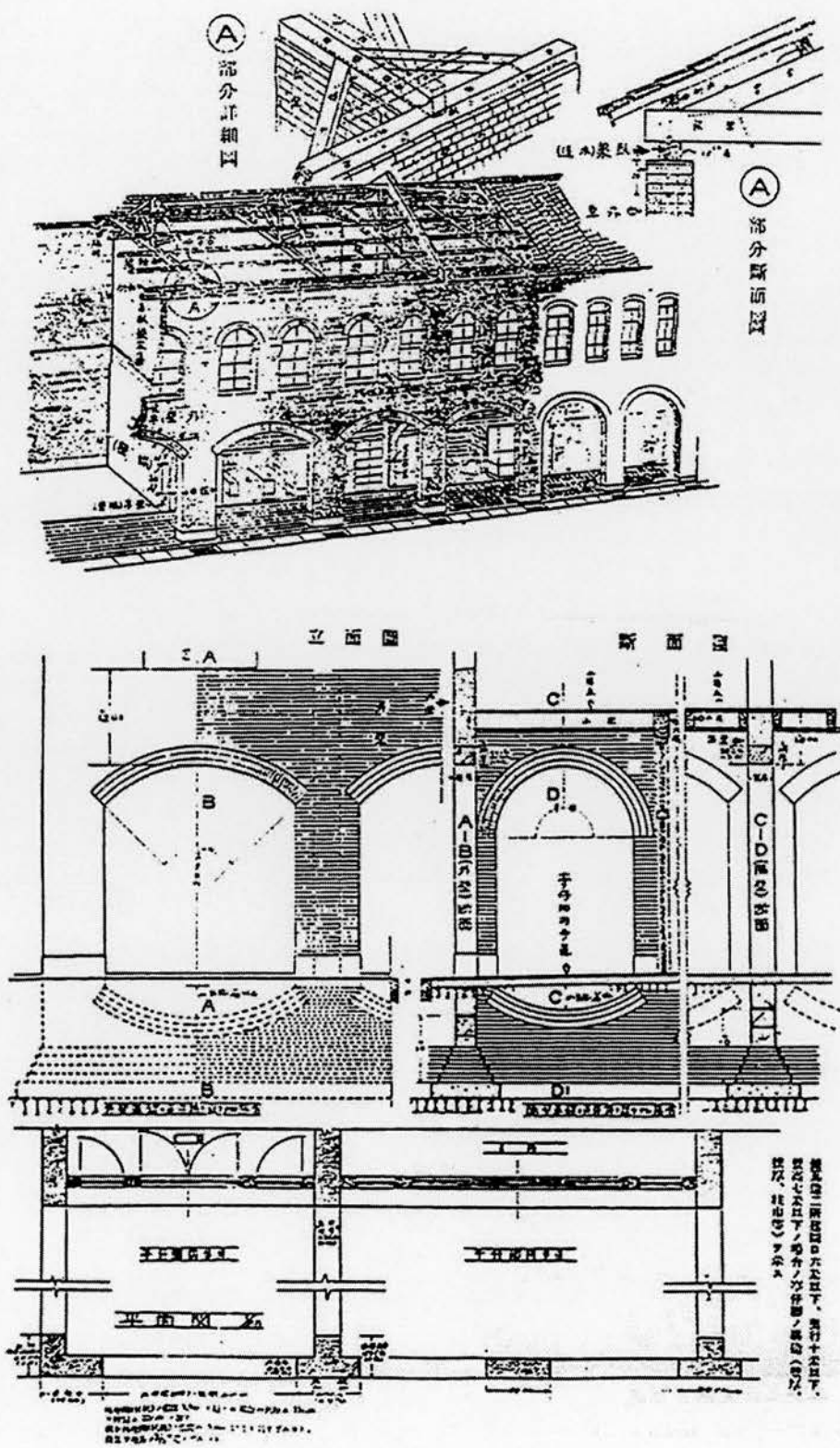


Fig. 16. The special regulation for constructing street arcades was from the city plan of 1937. (Chao-Hung Liu, 1995, p. 102).



Fig. 17. Typical arcade houses and street pattern constructed according to the regulations of 1937 in Hu-Kou, Hsin-Chu. (Chien-Jung Lin, 1996, p. 8).

Later the "City Improvement Plan" (1905 and 1910) imposed a grid system and led to European style buildings and streets for Taipei.<sup>29</sup> (Fig. 18-19) Some major construction projects, which included demolishing the Taipei city wall, expanding the Three Line Street (1910), and the Rebuilding Plan of European Style Street (1913-1914), continued the practice of the colonial government to replace the traditional Taiwanese spatial form.<sup>30</sup>

Up until 1932, a comprehensive Taipei City Plan formed the statutory basis for development.<sup>31</sup> (Fig. 20) This plan, which included provision of roads, parks, and sewage system, was used to create an ideal modern colonial city. It also indicated the tendency to develop the east district of Taipei, since most of the roads and parks were planned in the East side of Hsin-Sheng North and South roads.<sup>32</sup>

29 Yu-Chien Hsu, *The Cultural Transformation*, pp.95-103.

30Ibid., p.96.

31 Shyh-Meng Huang, "Study on the Social Economic Context and Developmental Stages of Taiwan Urban Planning During Japanese Rule Period," *Journal of Planning*, Vol. 14, Oct. 1987, pp.1-15.

32 Hsu-Cheng Tseng, *The Urbanization*, p. 45.





Fig. 18. The streetscape of Tsung-Ching South Road showing the European influence during the Japanese Occupation (around 1920). (Yu-Min Chuang, 1996, p. 155).

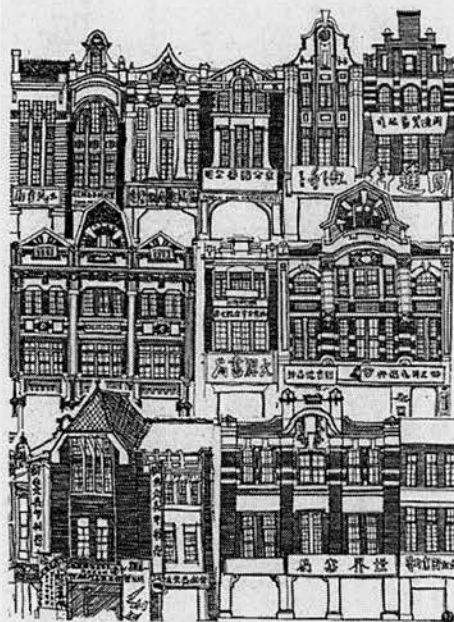


Fig. 19. A drawing of the building facades on Tsung-Ching South Road in the 1960s by Tardio Felix, illustrating the strong European influence. (Yu-Min Chuang, 1996, p. 157).

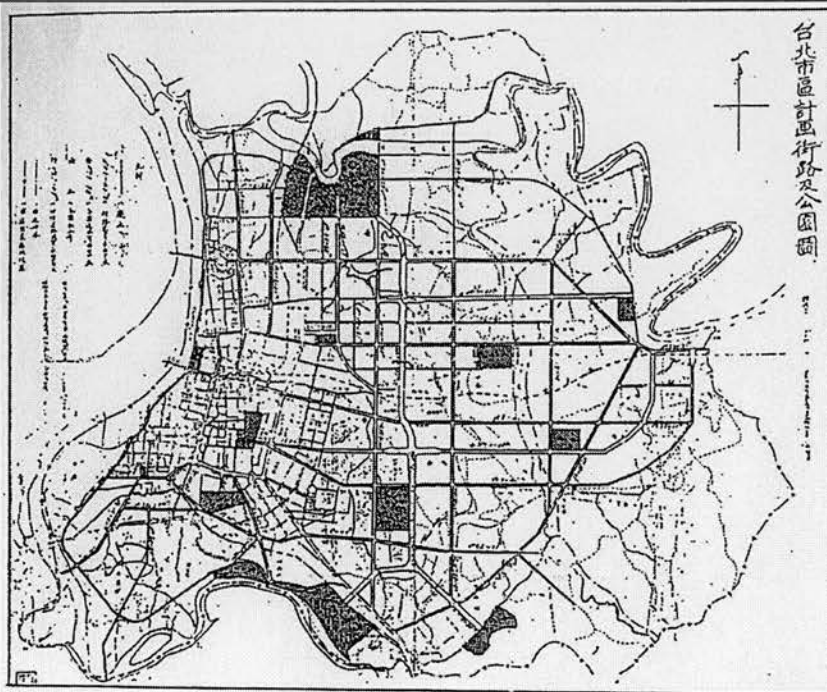


Fig. 20. The city plan of Taipei in 1932 included the plans for roads and parks. The shaded areas show the location of parks. (Shyh-Meng Huang, 1989, p. 79)



Under this systematic control of urban space, Taipei lost its old Ching dynasty street pattern. The city was unevenly developed into two separated living areas; Taipei Castle for Japanese, and Tataocheng for Taiwanese. The development of the Taiwanese area was intentionally delayed by the Japanese colonial government. For instance, it was not until 1905, that Tataocheng was finally considered in the "City Plan of 50,000 People" after the "Sewerage System Plan" (1896) and "City Improvement Plan" (1899) had developed the Taipei Castle area.<sup>33</sup> Finally, the whole city was constructed into one in order to show the achievement of the Japanese colonial government. "Taipei is the symbolic representation of the great Japanese colonial government...It is a memorial to the colonial enterprise of Japanese Empire in South Asia."<sup>34</sup> (My translation)

After Taiwan was liberated from Japanese Occupation in 1945, the USA directly influenced the urban development of Taipei during the period of U.S. Aid (1951-1978). The USA assisted financially and technically, constructing transport facilities, and introducing the concepts of Western city planning and a system of urban planning education.<sup>35</sup> Between 1950-1965, America provided 48,528,000 U.S. dollars for the construction of transportation in Taiwan.<sup>36</sup> It was the major financial investor in the construction of roads in Taipei at that time. These roads emphasise the expansion of city development towards the East side of Taipei and connect it to the airport and highway for the growing international trade. (See Fig. 9) In the City Plan of 1957, some major landscaped avenues, such as Tung-Hua Road and Jen-Ai Road, were constructed to provide a grand impression of the nation for foreign visitors and investors as they travelled from airport.<sup>37</sup>

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33 Tien Chung I Erh, *The History of Taipei*, 1931, p. 123.

34 Tien Chung I Erh, (1931: 10), in Yu-Chien Hsu, *The Cultural Transformation*, p. 88.

35 Dr. S. Grava, the head of the Department of Urban Planning from Columbia University, gave suggestions about physical planning, planning education, and professional training of planner for Taiwan in 1960. Shyh-Meng Huang, "The Western Planning Theories Applied In Taiwan," *Modern Science and Technology Conference Collected Papers*, (Urban Planning Group, Tung-Hai University, Taichung, 1989), p. 44.

36 Hsin-Ying Wen, 1990, p. 126, in Hsu-Cheng Tseng, *The Urbanization*, 1994, p. 71.

37 Hsu-Cheng Tseng, *The Urbanization*, pp. 70-73.

The Americans also influenced the Taipei Structure Plan, which was developed with the cooperation of the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) and the Urban and Housing Development Committee (UHDC) of Taiwan in 1968.<sup>38</sup> It was intended to replace the Taipei City Plan, which was announced by the Japanese in 1932 and which was subsequently modified and continually used by the Kuo Min Tang (KMT) government from 1949. Although the Taipei Structure Plan was not put into practice until the 1970s, its ideas, which included zoning plans and urban renewal schemes, were proposed by Donald Monson and other planning experts.<sup>39</sup>

The Western planning theories became the third force in shaping the streetscape of Taipei. The construction of the grid road system was implemented as part of the economic development plan in the 1960s in order to cope with the international trade and increasing population. The most intensive period of road construction in Taipei was between 1968-1975 when the booming economy in Taipei attracted a large amount of migration from countryside.<sup>40</sup> Much of the construction work was for expansion of the existing roads to disperse the increasing traffic. However, they were unable to encourage the population to disperse to the suburbs because the inefficient city plans and rapid urbanisation.<sup>41</sup> Thus, Taipei retains its dense development and commercial character. This contributes to a lively, modernised, and complex streetscape. The most prominent examples are the section four (1973), section three (1974) and section five (1976) of Cheng-Hsiao East Road. Its construction led to the efficient development of the East District, which became the most popular business area by the promotion of the estate market. High-rise office buildings soon dominated the streetscape of this road.<sup>42</sup> (Fig. 21)

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38 Ibid., p. 60.

39 Donald Monson and other planning experts completed 248 reports which covered development plans of housing, cities, and districts in Taiwan. Hsu-Cheng Tseng, *The Urbanization*, pp. 60-62.

40 The population doubled from around 970,000 (in 1962) to 1,900,000 (in 1972). Ibid., p. 20.

41 For details of these careless city plans and intense urbanization, see p. 71-72 above.

42 Hsu-Cheng Tseng, *The Urbanization*, p. 76.



Fig. 21. High-rise buildings dominate the streetscape of Chung-Hsiao East Road. (MDA, 1998, p. 91)

This increasing power of global capital became the major driving force of streetscape in Taipei with East District giving the best example of global influence.<sup>43</sup> For example, the existence of international companies in this area has influenced the surrounding environment, such as the neighbouring business types, architectural style, and the gentrified lifestyle dictating everything from fashion to food. The streetscape thus comprises of high-rise office buildings, international fashion shops, chain restaurants, hotels, and department stores.

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43 For instance, around 60 % of American companies in Taiwan have their offices in the East District. Tsung-Te Teng, *The Formation of Dominant Urban Landscape in Taipei in the 1980s*, (Master thesis, National Taiwan University, Taipei, 1991), p. 41.

## **2.3 The Character in Taipei's Streetscape**

### **2.3-1 The Factors Affecting the City Form of Taipei**

The streets of Taipei have undergone many geographical, social, political and spatial changes. The factors which have determined the city form can be considered under four headings, namely, political ideology, early uncontrolled urban development, the collision of local and foreign culture, and the flexible attitude of the migrants.

1. Political ideology: After the early migration from the Mainland, Japanese occupation (1895-1945) was the first dominant impact in shaping the early street system in Taipei. Several city plans during this period changed the predominant trading and agricultural character of Chinese settlements in conformity with the colonizer's political interests and methods of social control. Social and political influence of a different sort continued with the political migration from the Mainland to Taipei.

Today, political ideology embracing democracy, capitalism and western culture affects the production of urban space, which is developed in contrast to the cities of Communist China. For example, the ownership of the land in China is still controlled by the government thus it cannot have a privatised estate market. Its urban development is dominated by government policy rather than private investors. In Taipei the private developers use the power of the real estate market as a major force to shape the streetscape since the government did not provide a system of controls. Capitalism in conjunction with democracy encourages private development and influences the policy of the government. This leads to a commercialised streetscape. Chung-Hsiao East Road, for example developed extensively with high-rise buildings because this type of apartment buildings, or mix-used office and apartment buildings, were the most profitable type.<sup>44</sup> This kind of mixed-use building is typical in Taipei, whether in the decaying historical streets or the newly developed modern ones.

2. Early uncontrolled urban development: The lack of long term city planning was due to the KMT government's preoccupation with preparing for war against

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44 Hsu-Cheng Tseng, *The Urbanization*, p.116.

Communist China and the dream of the re-possession of the Mainland, rather than with the consolidation of Taipei as a permanent capital. The temporary development plan of Taipei before the 1960s played an important role in making its present character. The former Chunghua Emporium is a good example illustrating the changing policy. The crowded shelters at Chunghua Emporium after 1949 were temporary dwellings to accommodate political migrants from Mainland China.<sup>45</sup> They were built roughly in timber and bamboo without building regulation. (Fig. 22) This poor accommodation demonstrated how city planning was ignored by the KMT government. Because these shelters were the dominant view when people took trains into Taipei, it enforced this image of temporariness. "Sitting on a train, seeing Ying-Ko Rock, passing Tamsui River, then when we see a group of temporary shelters along the rail track in Westgate Ting. Taipei is there."<sup>46</sup> (My translation)

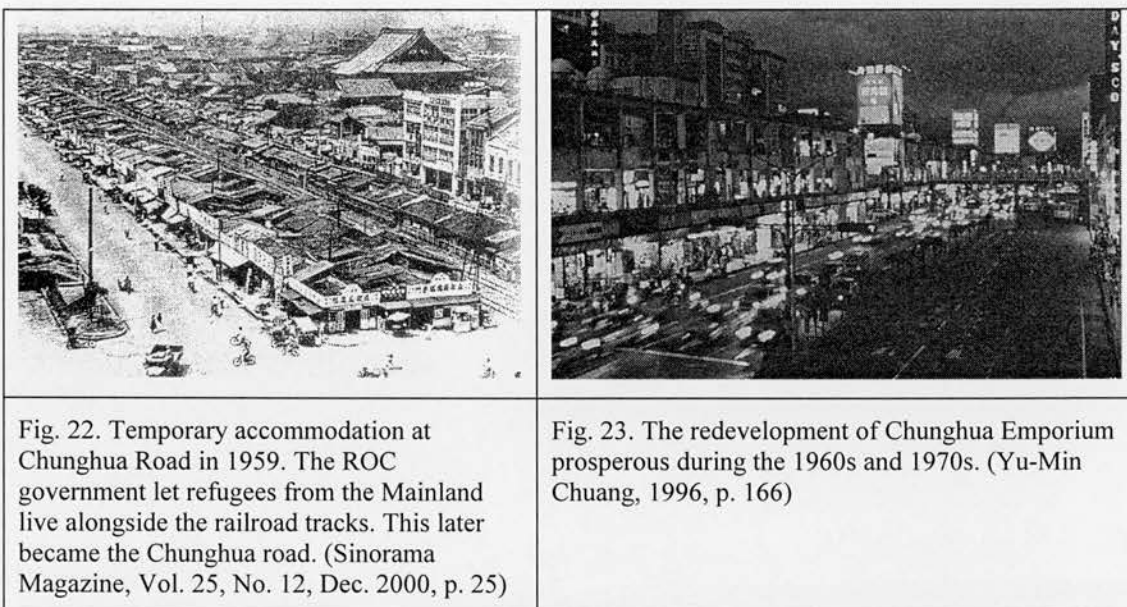
Later this area was developed as a new business zone that extended the road and replaced the shelters with new three-story buildings in 1960. Here specialist restaurants from China, and a great variety of rental shops gathered. It became a place where people from the Mainland relieved their homesickness with food from their hometowns and bargain hunting. This renewal shows that long-term development of Taipei was finally being considered by the government after 1958, when the KMT government realised the difficulty to recover the Mainland from the Communists, who had developed nuclear weapons, and under the pressure from U.S.A. Until the 1980s, Chunghua Emporium came represented the prosperous image of Taipei with cinemas, theatres, shops, and restaurants. (Fig. 23) It was the business centre of the city before the development of the East District.

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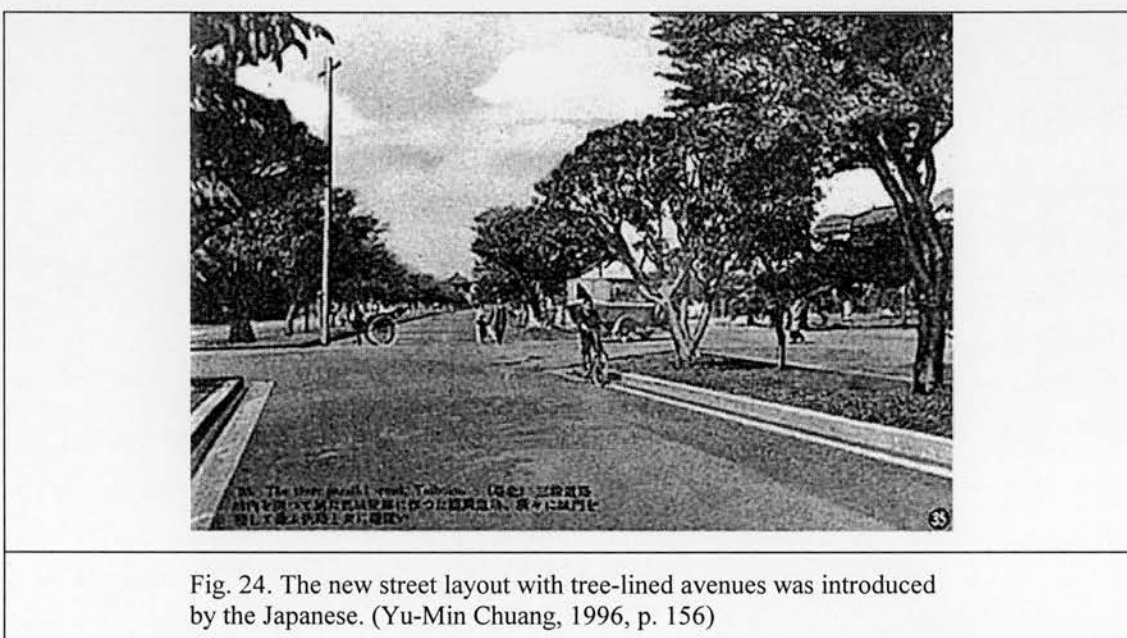
45 According to a survey of population in this area in 1954, there were 74 percent of population in this area are from Mainland. Po-Erh Lei, *Cities and Industries in Taiwan*, (National Taiwan University, Taipei, 1954), p. 182.

46 Kuan-Ying Kuo, 1992, in Hsu-Cheng Tseng, *The Urbanization*, p. 141.





3. Collision of local and foreign culture: The Japanese colonial government intended to destroy the identity of the Taiwanese city by demolishing the Taipei city wall, introducing a grid street system, and by introducing European style buildings.<sup>47</sup> (Fig. 24) Under this regime, Taipei developed the image of a modern colony.



After Taiwan was recovered from the Japanese occupation in 1945, the Americans introduced the Western ideas of city planning and architecture during the period of

<sup>47</sup> European style buildings and streets are symbols of modernisation for the Japanese colonisers at that time. Yu-Chien Hsu, *The Cultural Transformation*, pp.95-103.

U.S. Aid from 1951 to 1978. Thus the streetscape was determined by this foreign influence which shows a collision of local and Western culture. For example, in order to promote a positive image of the government from the difficult political condition in the 1950s and 1960s,<sup>48</sup> this political intention is shown on the architectural form of public buildings and major national constructions such as Sungshan Airport terminal building (1964), National Palace Museum (1965), Chungshan Building (1966) and Grand Hotel (1967),<sup>49</sup> and landscape avenues such as Jen-Ai Road and Tun-Hua Road (1968). (Fig. 25) The constructions of streets and the use of a Chinese style of architecture were used to evoke the national identity of the society.<sup>50</sup>



Fig. 25 Grand Hotel with its Chinese-style roof and decorations has become one of the landmarks of Taipei. It is designed with traditional elements such as columns, and caved patterns. (Postcard by Osima Co. 1998)

4. The flexible attitude of the migrant population: The increasing migration from the Mainland and from other cities of Taiwan leads to an increase of building development but also a flexible attitude towards life. The flexible attitude of migrants, which tends to take risks for economic success, is reflected in short-term development plans, mixed-use buildings and street vendors. As a systematic urban design process did not play an important role in the early development policy of the

48 Between 1951-1958, Taiwan and the Mainland China had several military conflicts. In 1964, China announced the success of nuclear weapon which destroyed the ambition of KMT government to recover the Mainland. Tsung-Te Teng, *The Formation*, pp. 38-39.

49 Ibid., p. 36.

50 Ching-Chih Lee, "The Construct and Transformation of the Image of Taipei," in eds., Ru-Shou Chen, and Gene-Fon Liao, *Focus on Taipei Through Cinema, 1950-1990*, (Taipei: Wan Sian, 1995), p. 24.

KMT government from the 1940s, private capital dominated city development and revealed the powerless of the official planning authority.

Street vendors demonstrate this flexible attitude of migrants which affects the character of streetscape in Taipei. In the 1950s and 1960s, there were vendors selling ice cream from pedicabs, which announced their arrival with the short sound of their horns in summer. And there were vendors selling roasted flour porridge on trolleys in winter. Each trolley had an oven, which cooked water in a steam pot. The sharp noise of the steam pot became associated with the peddlers.<sup>51</sup> These peddling activities were common scenes of the streetscape until the 1970s. (Fig. 26) The daily needs of communities have been transformed by the more formal business of 24-hour superstores, which stand in nearly every street since the 1970's. However, the informal businesses of street vendors continue in a different form with night vendors, especially in busy shopping streets. (Fig. 27) For example, night vendors occupy the street arcade of Chung-Hsiao East Road after the department stores and shops are closed because the active nightlife of this area, such as clubs and restaurants, attract their potential customers.

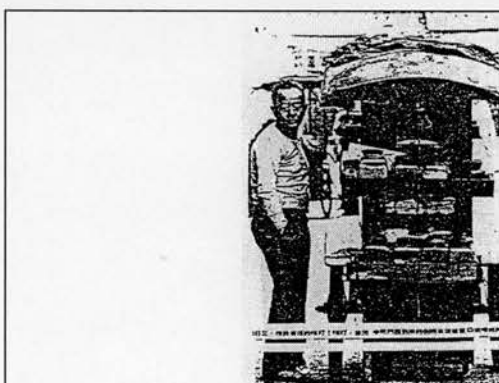


Fig. 26. A street vendor with his sale trolley in the 1960s. (I-Ching Lin, 1993, p. 71)



Fig. 27. The arcade of Chung-Hsiao East Road occupied by street vendors. (Photo by author, 1999).

Thus, Taipei continues to develop its character through its economic and political context. So, while private capital creates the streetscape in response to the real estate market, the informal activities of street vendors exploit the situation.

<sup>51</sup> Tsui-Feng Shih, 1966, in I-Ching Lin, *The Transformation*, p. 71.

More professional ideas of city planning were put into practice with the Zoning Plan of Taipei City in 1983. This regulates large development in detail and requires provision of public space, while placing restrictions on the height and form of buildings. The Development Plan of Hsin-Yi Special Zoning District (1981) was an earlier attempt at such management of cityscape. (Fig. 28) This Special District Plan, together with the existing development of Chung-Hsiao East Road shaped the image of East District in Taipei, which towards to a modern, international and gentrified area. According to Hsia Chu-Joe's survey on the image of Taipei between 1978 and 1980, "The new constructed modern housings and high-rise buildings in the East District already have their clear and outstanding identity among the diverse elements of city image."<sup>52</sup>

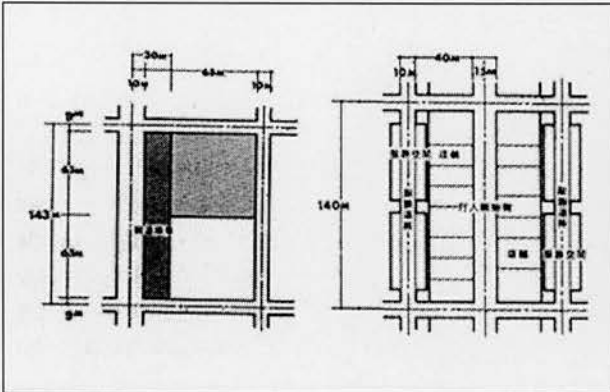


Fig. 28. Conceptual diagram of the street pattern in Hsin-Yi Special District, showing particular consideration for open space and sidewalks. (Liang-Chuan Cheng, Chinese Architecture, No. 8709, p. 75)



Fig. 29. A typical street view of Chung-Hsiao East Road with department stores and office buildings. (Photo by author, 2000)

The identity of East District clearly relates the transposition of the city centre from the western side of the city to the eastern areas. Section Four of Chung-Hsiao East Road becomes a new city-centre of consumption where department stores, international offices, chain stores, fast-food restaurants and fashion shops gather. (Fig. 29) It is as a showroom of consumption enhanced by the globalised market as many international companies and shops choose to locate in this area because of its efficient exchange of information.<sup>53</sup> The form and content of streetscape are thus

<sup>52</sup> Chu-Joe Hsia, ed., *The Research on the Image of Metropolitan Taipei between 1978-1980*, (Taipei City Government, 1981), p. 29.  
<sup>53</sup> Tsung-Te Teng, *The Formation*, p. 40.



created by these political, social and economic factors and illustrate the spatial transformation of a contemporary city.

### **2.3-2 Representation of Streetscape in Taipei**

The inhabitants of Taipei are confronted with drastic changes in the metropolitan situation and they experience difficulty identifying “authenticity” in the cityscape. This “crisis of authenticity” is particularly expressed in the representation of space through changes in the names of streets, visual images of films, and the literary perspective.

In order to remind people of the political ambition to recover the Mainland, the KMT government changed the names of streets from the Japanese system to a system of names, which relate to the cities and historical relics of China in 1947. Names of provinces in China were used to politicise the streets of Taipei. The intention was similar to the previous renaming of streets by the Japanese. Both tried to organise the urban space according to their political ideology and to influence people's perceptions by changing the old city image, such as demolishing representative buildings of the previous regime.<sup>54</sup>

In some Taiwanese films, the representations of streetscape illustrate various images of Taipei in different periods. These representations reflect the historical and social conditions by selecting architectural elements and landmark buildings of specific periods. Thus, we see the informal scene of urban space, such as temporary shelters, in the films that describe the urban life of the 1950s, such as “Our Neighbour” or “Kang Ting's Trip of Taipei.”<sup>55</sup> (Fig. 30) It demonstrates the temporary attitude of immigrants in Taipei in the 1950s could neither adapt to the existing structure nor take root in the city. In the films that described urban life in the 1960s, “palatial structures” in grand Chinese style architecture were chosen to demonstrate the political legitimacy of the government. (See Fig. 25)

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54 Hsu-Cheng Tseng, *The Urbanization*, p.133.

55 Ching-Chih Lee, “The Construct and Transformation of the Image of Taipei,” in eds., Ru-Shou Chen, and Gene-Fon Liao, *Focus on Taipei*, pp. 24 & 28.





Fig. 30. People living in a shanty town house in the movie "Our Neighbours." (Ru-Shou Robet Chen and Gene-Fan Liao, eds., 1995, p. 21)

In the films that illustrate urban life in the 1980s, the image of the city is depicted as crowded, diverse, and fragmented. On the one hand, Taipei is represented as a modern city with high-rise buildings that were the result of the economic miracle of 1970s. On the other hand, the extreme dualism of urban development between early-developed area and new districts is shown in "The Super Citizen" in 1985 using a series of montages of buildings. For example, it shows a diverse style of architectural images such as the Chinese-styled Grand Hotel, Dr. Sun Yat-Sen Memorial Hall and Chian Kai-Shek Memorial Hall, Buddhist and Islamic temples, Christian churches, modernist skyscrapers, in contrast to the abode of the declining community in the West district, where shabby buildings were overwhelmed by skyscrapers.<sup>56</sup> These montages concisely depict decades of urbanization in Taipei.

Another representation of Taipei comes from a literary perspective. I-Ching Lin has discussed the transformation of metropolitan Taipei through literary experience from the 1950s to the 1970s.<sup>57</sup> These experiences reflected the development of Taipei, the life of inhabitants, and the changes of social relations. For instance, Yin Ti states, "In the early 1950s, Taipei only had a few roads paved with asphalt. The others were gravel roads" (1992) and "the major transportation is pedicabs or public buses."<sup>58</sup> (1991) Walking was described as a pleasant experience in the 1950s because: "[On

56 Chen-Su Duan, "Sisyphus: A Sociological Study of Taipei City Through Films, 1960~1990," in eds., Ru-Shou Chen, and Gene-Fon Liao, *Focus on Taipei*, pp. 68 & 75.

57 I-Ching Lin, *The Transformation*.

58 Ibid., pp. 60-61.

Chung-Hsiao West Road] cars and pedestrians were only one tenth of the present amount. Everyone could relax when crossing the road instead of having to use a pedestrian bridge. In addition, this area had fresh air and quietness. On sunny days, it was a joyful walk... with birds singing and the fragrance of flowers."<sup>59</sup> The image of Taipei at that time was romantic, relaxed and full of natural elements.

At the end of the 1960s, urban life changed and the experience of streets was changed too. "[On the pedestrian bridge]...listen to the noise of crowd, cars, horns and the music from the record shops of Chunghua Emporium. The sky of night is reflected with pale white, blood red and dark green by neon lights...."<sup>60</sup> Here the experience of streets has been transformed from a relaxing atmosphere where people easily cross roads, hear birds singing, and smell the fragrance of flowers, to a more intense feeling caused by artificial lights and the noise of crowds of passing cars.

Similar experiences are related by Jung Tzu as wandering in a city jungle where "groups of city tigers [i.e. cars] whizzed pass from morning to evening."<sup>61</sup> Teng-Chiao Cheng also describes the dramatic change of streetscape during the 1970s.

"Buildings grow skywards like tall plants which do not need nutrients. Roads are entangled like clambering green ivy, which needs neither water nor sun. Roads spread and grow continuously across the old city centre to wild field. Different types of cars hurriedly come from their distant home town and hunt in packs on these roads."<sup>62</sup> (My translation)

The streets of Taipei are no longer for relaxing and walking, but rather an area for speeding cars and thronging crowds. It stimulates the theatrical view of Teng-Chiao Cheng's description (1972): "Stations, roundabouts, and cross-roads are streaming

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59 Chang Chien, 1992, cited in I-Ching Lin, *The Transformation*, p. 61.

60 Huai-Min Lin, *Cicada*, (Taipei: Da-Ti Press, 1969), p.159.

61 Jung Tzu, "Flowers do not fall upon our city anymore," cited in I-Ching Lin, *The Transformation*, p. 103.

62 Cheng uses the fast growth of plants as a metaphor to indicate the rapid increase and disordered expansion of high-rise buildings and roads. Cited in I-Ching Lin, *The Transformation*, p. 133.

with restless crowds like a whirlpool. Streets look like a theatre which plays a thematic drama, Chasing Crowds."<sup>63</sup> (My translation)

These changes of living experience and cityscape are a result of rapid urbanisation because Taipei is experiencing the change of urbanization within a few decades while European cities have transformed over centuries. Such rapid urbanization also causes the uneven development of the city and thus formulates two different representations of Taipei, the prosperous East District and declining West District. Because East District was developed with the economic success of the 1970s, the roads, such as Jen-Ai Road, Tun-Hua South Road, and Chung-Hsiao East Road, are wide with modern skyscrapers, superior housing, designer shops, and international companies. This area represents a gentrified landscape and lifestyle, in contrast to the old town in the West District.<sup>64</sup> The West District retains a local character with its narrow streets dating from the early development, temples, night markets, old houses and vendors. This difference between the two areas is used as the setting for Ta-Hung Wang's novel, *Tu Lien-Kuei*, in 1977.<sup>65</sup>

This transposition of city-centre also determines the location of leisure activities. For example, cafes emerged in the 1950s and 1960s as a symbol of a modernized and westernised lifestyle. Famous cafes, such as the Bolero in the 1930s or the Min-Hsing in the 1950s, were informal culture centres where meetings and social events were held.<sup>66</sup> The popular location for cafes moved from Tataocheng in the 1930s to Cheng-Chung District in the 1950's, then to East District in the 1990s.<sup>67</sup> This transposition of leisure locations follows that of the centre of city, which has developed from the west side towards the east side of Taipei. The increasing number and popularity of coffee shops have shown that cafes have changed their symbolic

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63 Teng-Chiao Cheng's description about streets in 1972, in I-Ching Lin, *The Transformation*, p. 134.

64 According to researches of Kun-Hung Cheng (1990: 217), Shu-Jen Kao (1987: 48) and Wei-Yen Liu (1988:132), the development of East District has formed a gentrified lifestyle and space. Cited in I-Ching Lin, *The Transformation*, p. 163.

65 For detail of this matter see Chapter Four p.1 below. And Ta-Hung Wang, *Tu Lien-Kuei*, based upon the Plot of "*The Picture of Dorian Gray*" by Oscar Wilde, (Taipei: Chiu-Ko, 1977).

66 I-Ching Lin, *The Transformation*, p. 61.

67 According to the *Map of Coffee Shops in East District* (1998), there are more than 70 coffee shops around the section four of Chung-Hsiao East Road. The Metropolitan Development Association, 1998.

representation of westernisation, in the elite intellectuals of the 1950s, to the mass consumption of the 1990s.

These representations of streetscape show an increasing difficulty in defining people's identity and "authenticity" in cityscape. The desire for "speed" and "consumption" in daily life become the self-paralysing euphoria for inhabitants which through films and other media, is reflected on the rapidly changing streetscape. Especially in streets like Chung-Hsiao East Road, that are famous for fashion shops, streetscape is easily replaced in the window displays, billboards and facades of shops, but also by the type of commodities, movements of customers, and character of interior space.

Nevertheless, the representation of streetscape is also constructed by the commercial estate market. Advertisements in all sorts of media have made Taipei one big real estate market where every space is created for sale and "authenticity" is difficult to define. For example, the new housing projects in the Hsin-Yi Special Zoning District are advertised as "Living beside Hsin-Yi Special Zoning District" and "Guarding the Gate of Hsin-Yi Special Zoning District" in order to give the impression that they are close to the Chung-Hsiao East Road, the business centre of the city. However, they are located on the far end of the connecting sections of Hsin-Yhi Road, Jen-Ai Road, and Chung-Hsiao East Road.<sup>68</sup>

A recent force in the formulation of streetscape comes from the public participation in the design of public space and community design. The representation of streetscape and the identity of place are constructed through social events such as public demonstration and community participation on the design process of projects like "Remaking the Neighbourhood Environment."<sup>69</sup> For many citizens, these

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68 China Credit Information Office, *Annual Report of Housing Market in Taiwan*, 1985.

69 Since the summer of 1995, the Urban Development Department of Taipei (UDDT) launched a city-wide neighbourhood improvement programme based on direct community participation. UDDT, *Remaking the Neighbourhood Environment- a Municipal Programme to Promote Incremental Improvements through Community Participation (1996)* and *Remaking the Neighbourhood Environment- A Municipal Programme to Promote Incremental Improvements through Community Participation (1997)*. (Taipei: UDDT, 1998).

experimental collaborations, the neighbourhood improvement plans, with various city agencies bring tangible changes to their everyday environment. Attention is drawn to the design process for public space and street space, thus the representation of space shows an increasing emphasis on the social aspect. For example, the design of Ting-Hou Trilogy on Chung-Hsiao East Road has involved meetings with local community, exhibitions of local history and children's events in order to create the identity of place.<sup>70</sup>

The difficulty in identifying "authenticity" in Taipei is also influenced by the ideologies of ethnic groups. Taipei has different ethnic groups from all over the island (Aborigines, the Fukiens and the Hakkas who had came to Taiwan earlier, and those who migrated from all over the Mainland in 1949) and each of them has inherited its own sub-culture and historical perspective. Besides absorbing the traditional Chinese cultures of different groups, Taipei has also gone through the hybridising intervention of the Japanese, the American and global cultures. The streetscape is created by these multifarious and complex mixtures and represented as the juxtaposition of various spatial and temporal elements. A detailed examination on streets and criteria of authenticity will help us to understand how these social factors operate on creating cityscape and recognise authenticity in a contemporary city.

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70 UDDT, *Remaking the Neighbourhood Environment- A Municipal Programme to Promote Incremental Improvements through Community Participation (1996)*, (Taipei: UDDT, 1998), pp. 46-47.



***Beyond theory: Fieldwork of a Real World***

## Chapter Three

### History as a Magnet- A Reading of Streetscape in Ti-Hua Street

#### Introduction: History as a Magnet and the Continuity of Authentic Fragments

Viewing the aerial photo of the area around Ti-Hua Street, the pitched-roof buildings of four to five floors mixed with early Modernist-style buildings spread along the west bank of the Tamsui River. (Fig. 1)



Fig. 1. Aerial photo of Ti-Hua Street and surrounding area. (Photo by Chung-Chieh Lin, 2001)

Here, narrow streets are cramped with a chaotic jumble of both old and relatively new buildings. In particular, an area descends down along Ti-Hua Street with various colourful tiled pitched-roof buildings where these remains of the past are surrounded by modern developments. Even though the street is hidden by later development, it acts as a historical magnet which attracts tourists, as well local people, to shop or simply wander. It is more than the Modernist's "staged authenticity" with its "emphasis on promoting the past as that which is entirely complete and removed from the present,"<sup>1</sup> because it still connects people's life with its historical setting and spatial pattern.

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1 C. Rojek, "Ways of Escape," in ed., David McCrone, *Scotland the Brand: The Making of Scottish Heritage*, (Edinburgh: Polygon, 1995), p. 25.

The first urban observation of this thesis is focused on this historical Ti-Hua Street. This is the only street in Taipei where we can trace the trading roots of the city development around the Tamsui River during the Ching dynasty.<sup>2</sup> On first impression, it seems that this street attracts people with the historical form of its buildings, and the rich diversity foods of traditional shops. The visual and sensual stimulation is tremendous as described in Wen-Yih Lin's experience of walking in this street.

"The ground floor is full of prosperous shops where people sell Chinese medicine, pickled and dried food, snacks... I enjoy strolling around these historical shops which are suffused with the fragrance of pickled or dried foods under the warm yellow light."<sup>3</sup> (My translation)

Her description illustrates the unique character of this street: the historical buildings, the special types of commodity and the whole sensual experience. However, whether this characteristic streetscape, apparently so authentic, responds to the demands of nostalgia in a "staged authenticity," or if it is a truly social reflection of politics and urbanism, associated with the inhabitant's body experience, will be explored with the framework of urban observation presented in Chapter One.

This observation explores sensual experience, one of interaction with the historically formulated space, and how a historical street responds to the drastic social changes in a modern city. Ti-Hua Street reveals an intimate commercial atmosphere representing the social life that we associate with traditional space, customs, religious activities, and cultural consumption. This intimacy means that Ti-Hua Street is an ethnic shopping street that constitutes a continuous handing down of lifestyle from the past. Here, we see the possibility that history can act as a magnet for retaining "authenticity."

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2 From 1732, the Ching government allowed people migrated to Taiwan. Also see pp. 68-70.

3 Wen-Yih Lin, (1987: 219-220), cited in Yu-Ming Chuang, *Old Taipei*, (Taipei: Shih-Pao Press, 1991), p. 66.

The combination of development history, memory of place, visual simulation and the mobility within space in Ti-Hua Street explicate a close relationship among shop owners, customers and neighbours on this street, reminding elderly people of the past and giving a feeling for the past to young people. The old lifestyle and consumption habits have echoes in the inhabitants' lives today, even though they have been inevitably influenced by the persuasiveness of modern marketing.

### 1. The history of development:

History has given Ti-Hua Street a great foundation for authenticity in its streetscape. The formation of this street was governed by the early migration from the Mainland and by Japanese colonial influence. Both were political movements with economic and social impacts and which have resulted in the characteristic street pattern and the use of shop space. History is thus reflected both on its architectural form and its user's activity.

### 2. The memory of place:

Ti-Hua Street reveals a particular dimension of "authenticity" from memory because it evokes the sensual experience and tradition in society. This comes through the perception of experience in space. The senses of sight, smell, touch, hearing, and taste, link the memory of an individual to family traditions, customs of classes, religious beliefs, or to specific places.<sup>4</sup> The memory of Ti-Hua Street thus is based on lived experience and social structure.<sup>5</sup> The "authenticity" in the memory of places can be unfolded from three aspects: family traditions, customs and religious activities, and use of specific places.

### 3. The visual simulation:

The visual simulation here reveals the changing nature of "authenticity." Its simulation of the West was the forceful ideology of modernization imposed during the Japanese colonial government, but it now seems the most authentic street in

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4 Halbwachs claimed that memory was essentially social, "thus, memory orients experience by linking an individual to family traditions, customs of class, religious beliefs, or specific places." M. Christine Boyer, *The City*, p. 26.

5 Halbwachs suggests, "Memory had to be linked to lived experience; otherwise it was reduced to 'history,' becoming abstract or intellectualised reconstructions, debased or faked recollections." Ibid.

Taipei as it retains traditional types of business and historical buildings. In the transformation of buildings, the promotion of cultural consumption and the representation of mass media, an authentic representation of social changes is revealed in space.

#### 4. Mobility within space:

Mobility within space is unfolded in three aspects in Ti-Hua Street. Firstly, the change of consumer culture shows how this historical street responds to the modernization and capitalization of the city's development. Secondly, the use of shop space and arcade express the changing social relation and the continuity of tradition. Thirdly, social events show how citizen participation shapes the streetscape and connects with the collective memory of the place.

This street with its emphasis on history, traditional business, and conservation illustrates the complex conflict between different social groups. The social, political and economical impacts through history have left their imprint on the street pattern, as well as in the way in which space is used, and the living habits of the people. In this urban observation, I ask three questions: 1) How have the content and form of this street been formulated and transformed? 2) How have political and social factors come to dominate and affect urban life? 3) How does this historical street retain its authentic character under the force of modern urban development?

This chapter discusses how a sense of authenticity in a contemporary city can be enriched by the historical, social and spatial contexts of a historical street. It explores how Taiwanese people adjust their traditional living space and shopping habits while modern architecture and Westernised consumption have come to dominate the development of the city.

The streetscape of Ti-Hua Street stretches our imagination and critical sensibilities about the cityscape of the past and present. From the contrast in streetscape between historical Ti-Hua Street and other mostly Western-influenced streets, we witness the



constant interactions between historicity, sociality and spatiality.<sup>6</sup> Therefore, in the search for “authentic” cityscape, this study will examine the growth, prosperity, decline and revival of the shops, all of which are explored in the connection between spatial transformation and society. The observation is a response to my argument that the simulation of the West, and of the past, which appears in Taipei’s cityscape, is a social reflection of mixed local cultural and global impacts reacting with the inhabitants’ body experience, and that the streets represent a social theatre where the imaged and real space interact with actions in history, memory, visual image and mobility. This creates the rhythms of a dynamic city: an authentic living experience.

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<sup>6</sup> Soja states that “there has been a persistent tendency during at least the past century to over-privilege, in another ‘double illusion,’ the dynamic relations between the ‘making’ of Historicity and the ‘constitution’ of social practices or Sociality.” This could cause the difficulty on defining “authentic” space. Soja, *Thirdspace*, p. 71.

### 3.1 The History of Development

#### 3.1-1 Impact of the Migrants

Ti-Hua Street, on the western flank of Taipei City, is squeezed into the old commercial area, Tataocheng, which is one of the early settlements in Taipei. This street runs roughly on a north-south axis parallel to the Tamsui River. (Fig. 2)

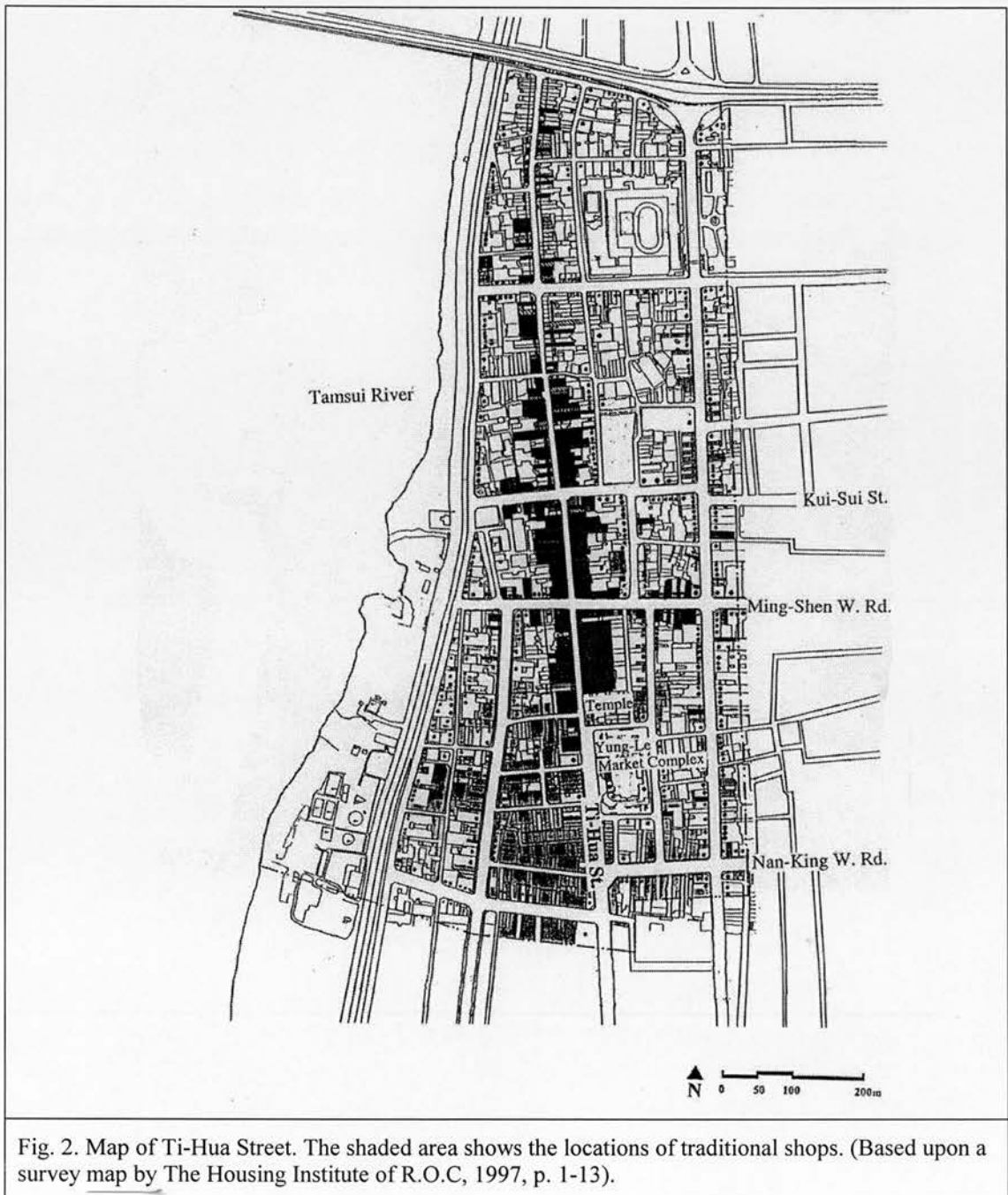


Fig. 2. Map of Ti-Hua Street. The shaded area shows the locations of traditional shops. (Based upon a survey map by The Housing Institute of R.O.C, 1997, p. 1-13).

The old port nearby still operates boats for public transport (mainly local inhabitants and tourists) but not for the shipment of commodities. It used to be a busy commercial harbour shipping tea, rice and other trading goods from Tamsui harbour to the inner cities in the Ching dynasty. Because of this, Tataocheng developed its wealthy businesses, such as those shops on Ti-Hua Street, and continued its prosperity until the Japanese occupation. (Fig. 3) Ti-Hua Street has changed remarkably little in appearance since the Occupation. (Fig. 4) However, there has been a commercial decline of this area due to the major development on the east side of the city.



Fig. 3. The shop houses during the Japanese Occupation. (Chan-Peng Chuang, ed., 1997, pp. 116-117).

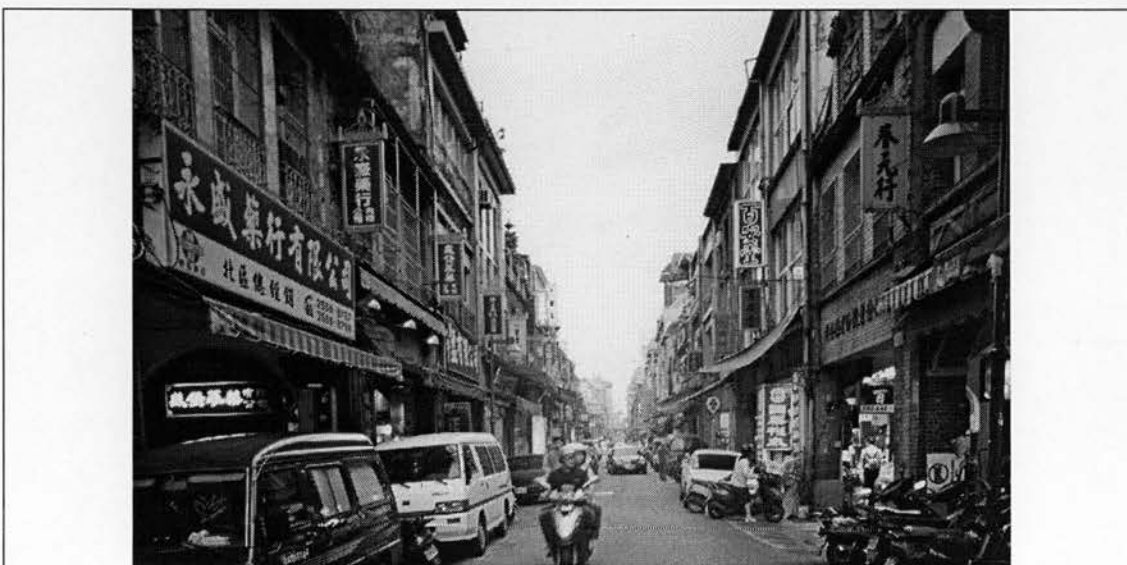
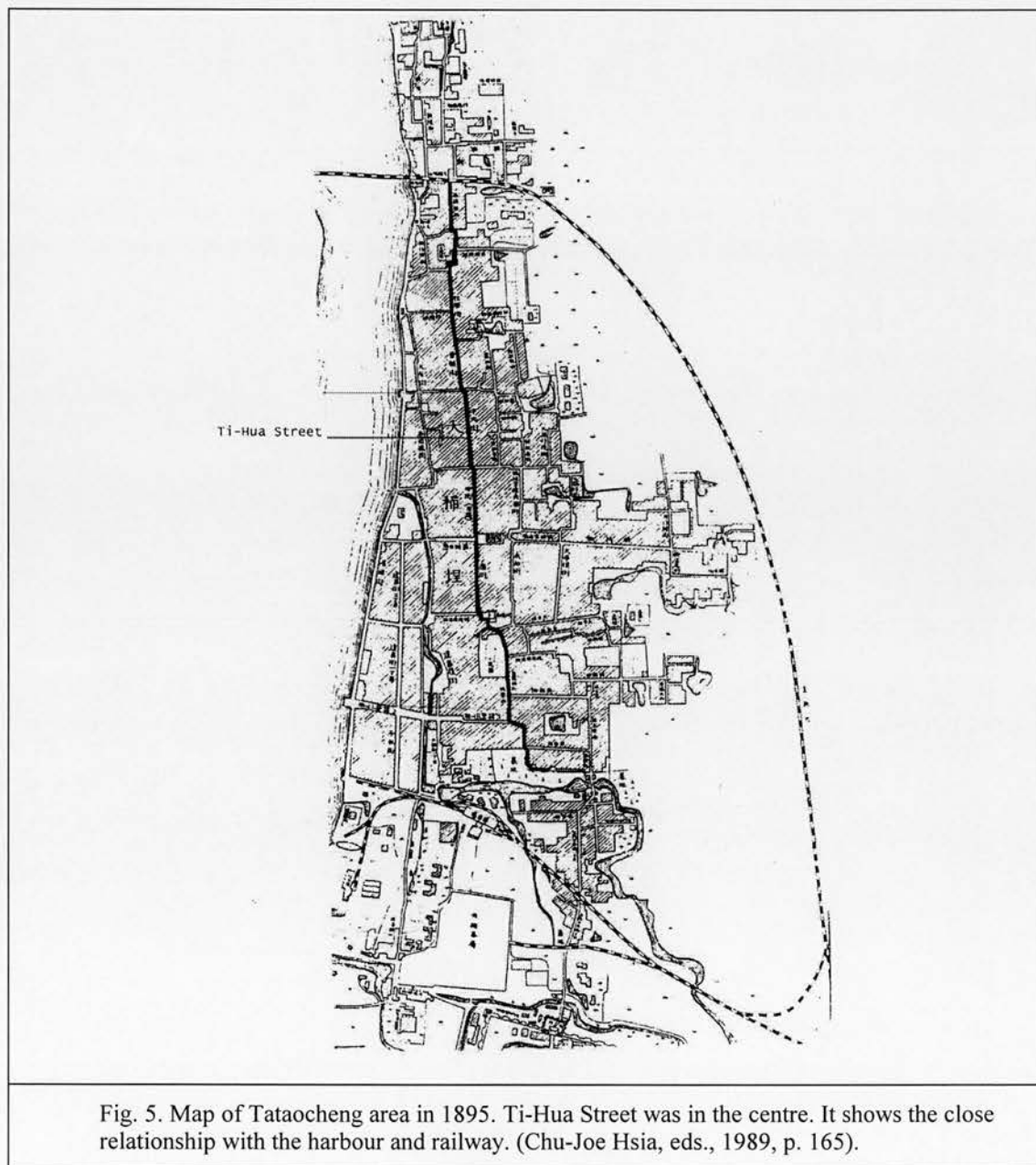


Fig. 4. The shop houses of Ti-Hua Street today. (Photo by author, 2001).

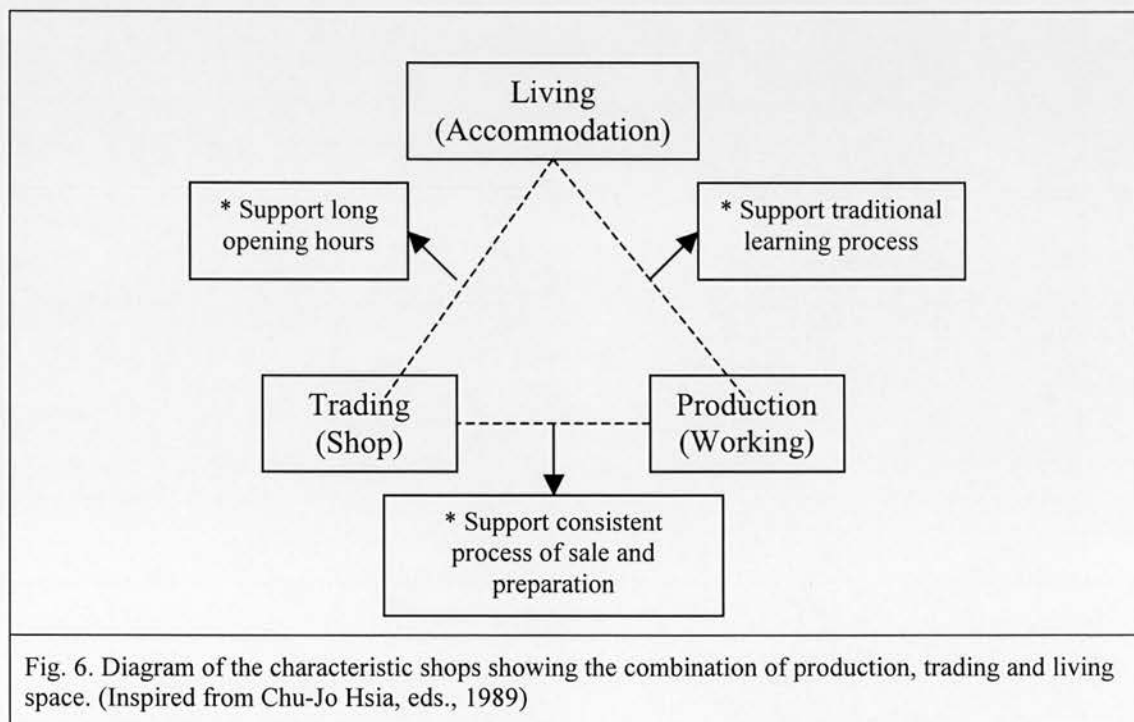
Early migration from the Mainland to Taiwan from 1708 to 1895 had a profound effect on the development of Taipei. The rural area occupied by the Kaitakelan tribe, was transformed into both an intensively agricultural and a trading area. Ti-Hua Street was developed as one of the major shopping streets in the Tataocheng-Tamsui trade district, which was built in response to the international economic success of Tamsui harbour.<sup>7</sup> (Fig. 5)



<sup>7</sup> Tamsui harbour transformed Taipei from a regional exchange market town trading with China into an international centre of commerce when it was opened to the West after the Tientsin Treaty in 1858.

Tataocheng was one of the early settlements in Taipei which connected to the commercial port by the Tamsui River.<sup>8</sup> During 1862 to 1894, Tamsui became the biggest trade harbour of Taiwan. From Tataocheng, tea, sugar and camphor were exported over the world.<sup>9</sup> And foreign business firms imported opium, foreign textiles, and metal. Tataocheng was planned as a residential area to accommodate foreign people from these firms. Therefore, a Tataocheng-Tamsui trade district formed. The value of business in Tataocheng gradually overtook that of Munga, and became a major commercial centre of Taipei because it was a new commercial area, which was more open to western culture than Munga.<sup>10</sup>

Ti-Hua Street, developed into one of the major shopping streets in Tataocheng, under these strong economic and foreign cultural bases, therefore, its distinctive forms were fostered in the prosperous past of Tataocheng. For example, the plan of these characteristic shops, combine spaces for production, trading and living and is evidence of the prosperous tea industry in the Ching dynasty. (Fig. 6)



Yu-Chien Hsu, *The Cultural Transformation*, pp. 44-48.

8 Taipei City Government, *An Introduction*, p. 2.

9 Maan-Horng Lin, (1985: 56), in Yu-Chien Hsu, *The Cultural Transformation*, p. 43.

10 Ibid., p. 48.



During the high season of the tea industry, shopkeepers extended their working space out into the better-lit arcade.<sup>11</sup> (Fig. 7) The facades of the buildings show the mixed influence of indigenous and foreign cultures. (Fig. 8) They were built with Western brick arches and decorated gables while using local construction products.<sup>12</sup>



Fig. 7. Arcades were used as working space for picking out the best tea leaves just after a harvest. (Sinorama Magazine, Vol. 25, No. 12, December 2000, p. 22).



Fig. 8. The façades of the buildings show the influence of both indigenous and foreign cultures. (Photo by author, 2001)

In addition, some rich merchants such as Chang-Yuan Lin and Chen-San Lee also helped the government to build roads and housing in this area as today's housing

11 Hui-Wen Cheng, *Tataocheng Map of Women- the Transformation of Women's Space throughout a Century*, (Taipei: Pua-Yang, 1999), p. 73.

12 Tataocheng used to be the foreigner's residential area for those foreign business people in the Ching dynasty. These people brought Western capital and cultural influences. Chung-Hsien Yen, *The Analysis*, pp. 39 & 46.



Another important characteristic of Ti-Hua Street is its street arcade. The traditional street arcade, as built by the early migrants from Mainland China for weather protection, became firmly established with the introduction of building regulations in 1885. This regulation was in response to development pressure from the increasing population, and from Western capital investment which prompted the Ching government to construct Taipei Castle in order to control the economic and political development of Taipei. Most of Ti-Hua Street was built at this time and with “Ting Tzu Chiau.”<sup>16</sup> (Fig. 11) This form, which has dominated the streetscape since the Ching dynasty, leaves a palimpsest of the economic and political factors of the 19th Century on the cityscape today. (Fig. 12)



Fig. 11. The spatial use and the characteristics of a street house in the Ching dynasty with “Ting Tzu Chiau,” pitched roof and central court. (Chan-Peng Chuang, ed., 1997, p. 130-131)



Fig. 12. The street arcade in use today. (Photo by author, 2001)

<sup>16</sup> “Ting Tzu Chiau” is a special type of street arcade which was developed in the Ching dynasty. See p. 82.

### 3.1-2 Japanese Colonial Influence

During the Occupation of the Japanese era (1895-1945), their political power dominated the development of the city. A series of city improvement plans, building regulations and major construction projects were the result of the Japanese ambition to minimize the identity of the Taiwanese and to suppress the powerful image of a modern colonial government.

Firstly, the present appearance of Ti-Hua Street was greatly influenced by the ambitious colonial plan. The City Plan of 50,000 People (1905) introduced the grid street system into Tataocheng area. The City Improvement Plan of 1910 extended the present Ti-Hua Street and Yen-Ping North Road. As a result, the Tzusheng Temple was moved from Ti-Hua Street to Yen-Ping North Road, and half of the Fachu Temple was demolished.<sup>17</sup> These plans destroyed religious centres on the Ching dynasty streets and integrated the three existing developed areas, Munga, Tataocheng and Taipei Castle, into a unified scheme. Later, in 1932, a comprehensive city plan that included roads, a park system, and sewage plans were initiated with a view to create an ideal modern colonial city and unite development toward the east side of the city.<sup>18</sup> (Fig. 13) However, even under this regime of modern colonialism, the city was still unevenly developed with two separate centres, one for the Japanese around Taipei Castle, and the other for Taiwanese, in the district of Tataocheng. Despite political discrimination and cultural differences, Ti-Hua Street in Tataocheng became increasingly prosperous as an economic and cultural centre for the Taiwanese until the 1950s.

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17 Hsu-Cheng Teng and Chang-Jui Cheng, eds., *The Field Survey and Development Potential of Ti-Hua Street*, (UDDT: Taipei, 1989), p. 16, and Tamkang University (Department of Architecture) and OURs Community Action Team, *The Urban Designs and Management Programming of the "Historical-Stores" and their Neighbouring District in Taipei City*, (Taipei: UDDT, 1997), p. 66.

18 Shyh-Meng Huang, "Study on the Social Economic Context and Developmental Stages of Taiwan Urban Planning during the Japanese Rule Period," *Journal of Planning*, Vol. 14, Oct. 1987, pp. 1-15, and Hsu-Cheng Tseng, *The Urbanisation*, p. 45.

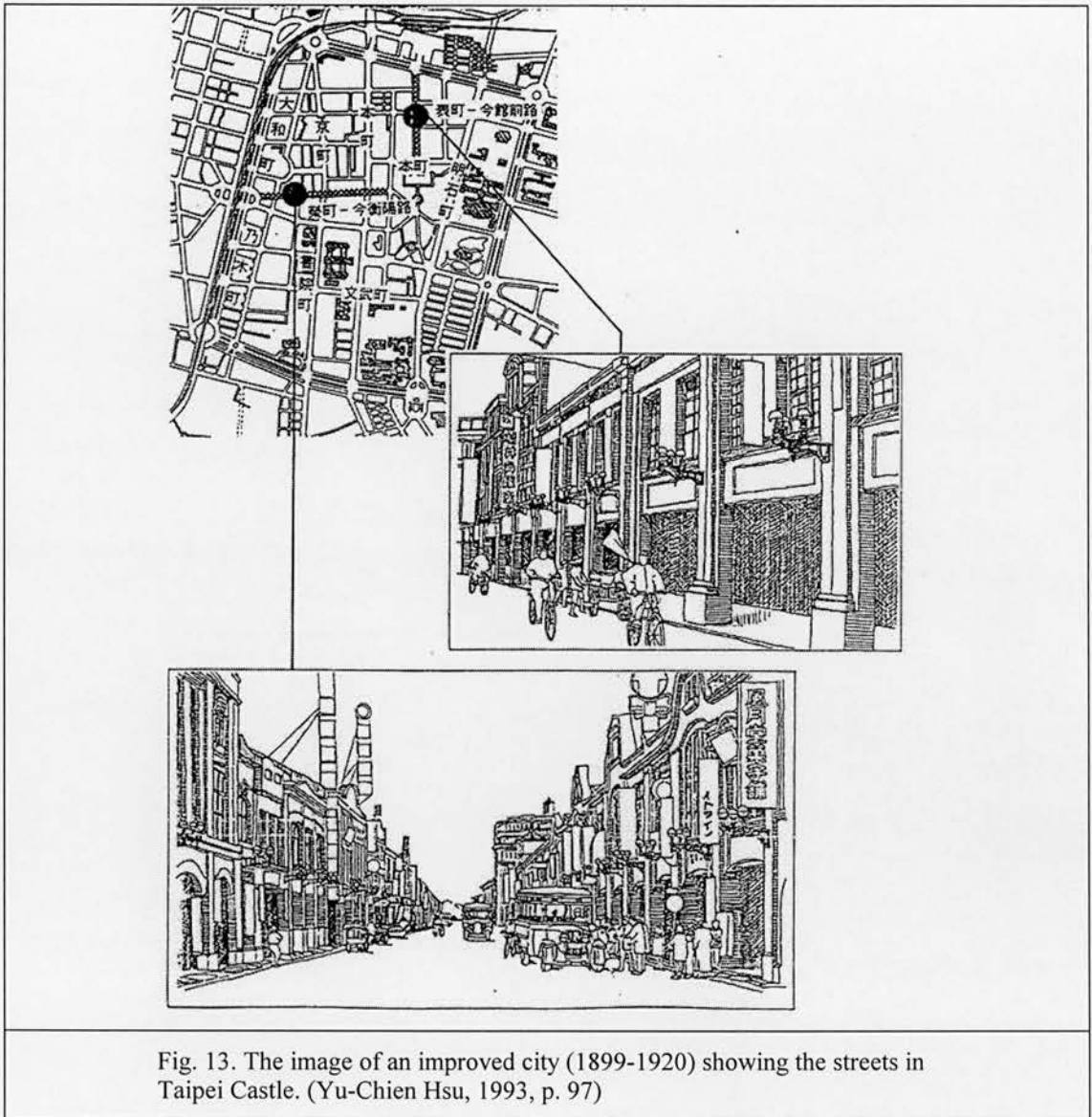


Fig. 13. The image of an improved city (1899-1920) showing the streets in Taipei Castle. (Yu-Chien Hsu, 1993, p. 97)

Secondly, houses built in accordance with the Taiwan Housing Building Regulation of 1900 and the City Improvement Plan of 1910, display a European (Baroque) influence using a continuous arcade, classical columns, and windows with pediments.<sup>19</sup> (Fig. 14) From 1911, the colonial government introduced this European style brick housing and street pattern in order to promote a modern progressive image. These European imports affected the development of Taipei Castle, then the area of Tataocheng. The European housing style spread as a result of the housing

<sup>19</sup> During the Meiji restoration, which marked the beginning of Japan's modernisation, Japanese government had planned a series of European style urban improvement plan in their mainland during 1868-1872 and later had impacts in Taipei during the Occupation. Tyan Jong I Ell, *The History of Taipei*, (1931: 140-141), cited in Yu-Chien Hsu, *The Cultural Transformation*, p. 97.



improvement plan of 1913 and 1914, after the traditional clay houses were seriously damaged by a typhoon in 1911. Most of the houses on Ti-Hua Street were rebuilt in brick with this European-influenced style and with a continuous arcade. (Fig. 15) The characteristic facade of shops on Ti-Hua Street was built mainly under this influence until the Japanese Occupation ended. Ti-Hua Street has retained this mixed influence of indigenous and foreign cultures since the Ching dynasty.<sup>20</sup>



Fig. 14. The characteristic façade of shops on Ti-Hua Street with a continuous arcade, classical columns, and windows with pediments. In the foreground a passing religious parade passes. (Tien-Hsia, eds., 1998, p. 210)



Fig. 15. The continuous arcade and its use for display. (Photo by author, 1999)

Furthermore, the 'Building Regulation of Housing in Taiwan (1900)' in addition to stipulating method of construction, building height and size, and architecture details, also stipulated street arcades. It obliged householders to build a continuous arcade along the street front, which gave a distinctive character to shopping streets all over Taiwan.<sup>21</sup> (See Chapter Two Fig. 17)

The development of Ti-Hua Street was influenced by the rich cultural resources of Tataocheng which fostered the growth of democratic thought, literature, music, and drama.<sup>22</sup> Tataocheng developed its economic activity and served as a cultural centre for the Taiwanese while the Japanese colonial government concentrated on

<sup>20</sup> Tataocheng used to be the foreigner's residential area in the Ching dynasty. They brought the availability of western capital and western cultural influence. Chung-Hsien Yen, *An Analysis*, p. 39.

<sup>21</sup> Chung-Hsien Yen, *An Analysis*, p. 60. Also see p. 83 above.

<sup>22</sup> For example, Taiwan Democratic Kingdom was based in Tataocheng. It was intended to achieve the liberation of Taiwan from the Japanese Occupation. Yu-Chien Hsu, *The Cultural Transformation*, p. 57.

developing the administrative and residential value of Taipei Castle.<sup>23</sup> However, as a result of the Japanese intention to segregate Taiwanese and Japanese, the development of the Taiwanese area, Tataocheng, was suspended. The resulting differences between these two areas are revealed in the following descriptions about their commercial areas from a Japanese commentator.

"[These shops inside Taipei Castle] have good illumination, colourful displays and beautiful decoration. Every shop is modernised and as good as those shops in the Japanese hinterland."<sup>24</sup> (My translation from)

"[These shopping streets in Tataocheng and Munga] do not have beautiful and bright shops. They pay little attention to their lighting, and decoration. Sales goods are just plainly displayed in shops which give a dull and careless impression."<sup>25</sup> (My translation)

The intention to ignore the development in Tataocheng was obvious from its exclusion from the Sewerage System Plan (1896), and two City Improvement Plans (1899 & 1900) which had constructed in the Taipei Castle.<sup>26</sup> Finally, the whole city was united in the 'City Plan of 50,000 People' (1905) in order to show the achievement of the Japanese colonial government. "Taipei is the symbolic representation of the great Japanese imperial government... a memorial to the colonial enterprise in South Asia."<sup>27</sup>(My translation)

After Taiwan was released from Japanese Occupation in 1945, Tataocheng retained its position as an important centre for industry and consumption because of its convenient transportation which brought customers from the suburbs. Thus, the

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23 Tataocheng's ideal location, relative openness to western culture, and the availability of western capital made it increasingly prosperous after 1820. It soon eclipsed Munga, taking its place as the centre of northern Taiwan. In contrast, the Japanese Government concentrated on constructing Taipei Castle to compete with Taiwanese's Tataocheng. Yu-Chien Hsu, *The Cultural Transformation*, p. 39.

24 Tien Chung I Erh, *The History*, pp. 250-251.

25 Tien Chung I Erh, *The History*, pp. 253-254.

26 Tien Chung I Erh, *The History*, pp. 123. Also in *The Twenty Years History of Taipei City Government*, 1940, pp. 541-543.

27 Tien Chung I Erh, (1931:10), cited in Yu-Chien Hsu, *The Cultural Transformation*, p. 88.

majority of trading companies in Taipei gathered on Ti-Hua Street and Ming-Sheng West Road during the 1950s and 1960s.<sup>28</sup>

Tataocheng declined after 1960 because of the new development in the East. The area became the passageway between the new city-centre and other suburbs. The old and narrow street layout was not adequate for the increasing traffic and many new roads were constructed around this area.<sup>29</sup> Meanwhile in 1977, a plan was made to widen Ti-Hua Street into a 20-metre wide road. This historical street was almost demolished according to this plan. However, after a debate on the historical value, a series of official reports have focused on the conservation value of Ti-Hua Street and on relevant planning regulation, such as *The Urban Designs and Management Programming of the "Historical-Stores" and their Neighbouring District in Taipei City* (1997), and *The Comprehensive Development Plan of Tataocheng Special District* (1997).<sup>30</sup> Ti-Hua Street was finally designated a Special District with its own development and conservation plan in November 1988.

The history of development has provided a way to evaluate Ti-Hua Street, in terms of the interactions of its people and the formation of urban space. For example, the facades of mixed style buildings, with Taiwanese and Western elements, inform us about political and economic forces. These spatial expressions have demonstrated and conveyed the influence of authority and social interaction from the past to the present. Nevertheless, spatial authority is still an important factor in contemporary streets. The vertical form of modern skyscrapers, for example, expresses the corporate power. These modern phenomena will be explored in Chapter Four.

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28 Tamkang University (Department of Architecture) and OURs Community Action Team, *The Urban Designs*, p. 66.

29 These construction included Ta-Cheng Street (1966-68), Taipei Bridge (1968), Cheng-Te Road (1969), Chung-Hsiao West Road (1970), Chung-Hsiao Bridge (1972-75), Hsi-Ning North Road (1977), Huan-Ho North Road (1978), and Kui-Sui Street (1979). Yu-Chien Hsu, *The Cultural Transformation*, p. 67.

30 The Housing Institute of Republic of China, *The Comprehensive Development of Tataocheng Special District*, (Taipei: UDDT, 1997), pp. 5-7. And Tamkang University (Department of Architecture) and OURs Community Action Team, *The Urban Designs*, 1997.

### 3.2 Memory of Place

The memory of Ti-Hua Street evokes people's sensual experience and reveals the social relations arising from family tradition, customs and religious events, and specificity of space.<sup>31</sup> This memory is also enhanced by the cultural and intellectual background of Tataocheng, which is known for its innovations in democratic thought, literature, and drama.<sup>32</sup>

#### 3.2-1 Family Traditions

Family traditions help to retain traditional business and characteristic shops which are an essential part of the physical memory of Ti-Hua Street. The dominant types of shops are Chinese herbal medicine shops and pickled or dried food shops.<sup>33</sup> Many of them have a long history as family businesses going back for centuries. For example, the Chien-Yuan-Heng Chinese herbal medicine shop was set up in 1875, and today its interior space is still used for preparing herbal medicine. (Fig. 16) The Lin-Fu-Chen shop is a famous pickled and dried food shop which was established in 1853. The ancestor of the shop owner, Yu-Tsao Lin, led the Tun-An people who immigrated to Tataocheng and set up Middle Street, which was the antecedent of Ti-Hua Street today.<sup>34</sup> The development of Tataocheng in the early period has left Ti-Hua Street with the densest area of historical shops in Taipei.<sup>35</sup> This density of historical shops and family businesses evoke a vivid sensual experience in terms of sight, smell and touch that persist in memory. (Fig. 17)

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31 M. Christine Boyer, *The City*, p. 26. See note 4 above.

32 See note 22 above and pp. 128-129 below.

33 Tamkang University (Department of Architecture) and OURs Community Action Team, *The Urban Designs*, p. 67.

34 Yu-Tsao Lin was the leader of migrants from the south of Mainland China in the Ching dynasty. Yu-Min Chuang, *Old Taipei*, (Taipei: Shih-Pao Press, 1991), p. 83.

35 Tamkang University (Department of Architecture) and OURs Community Action Team, *The Urban Designs*, p. 67.





Fig. 16. The interior of Chian-Yuan-Heng Chinese herbal medicine shop. (Photo by author, 1999)



Fig. 17. The goods in the historical shops evoke sensual experience. People can smell, see and taste the food there. (Sketch by author, 1998)

In addition, there are other special types of traditional shops, such as Chin-Sheng-Fa and Lin-Feng-I bamboo basket shops, Tung-Mei-Heng teapot and tableware shop, Liao-Mien-Cheng ghost money shop (1915), and Li-Ting-Hsiang bakery (1895).<sup>36</sup> Many of them used to be wholesale suppliers but they are now only local retailers because of the decline of such businesses. These particular shops remain here, regardless of the decline in business, essentially because it is a tradition of the family. For instance, the owners of Kuang-He Chinese herbal medicine shop have been known as famous Chinese herbal doctors practicing traditional medicine and respected locally for three generations, since 1877.<sup>37</sup> The present owner, Chuang Tien-Ching, still looks after the health of local people. In Hui-Wen Cheng's interview with women in Tataocheng, she discovers that women sometimes become the main force in sustaining the family business, as the male members of the family are not interested in managing such old-fashioned businesses.<sup>38</sup>

Fabric shops also have a long tradition here. There are more than 600 fabric shops inside the Yu-Le Market and on the south side of Ti-Hua Street.<sup>39</sup> (Fig. 18) Yu-Le Market is a good example, revealing the memory of the place in relation to traditional business and social changes. Fabric has been the major commodity of Yu-Le Market

<sup>36</sup> These traditional businesses exist because of cultural tradition. For example, ghost money is prepared for the dead in the funeral ceremony. Ibid., pp. 70-71.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid.

<sup>38</sup> Hui-Wen Cheng, *Tataocheng Map*, p. 130.

<sup>39</sup> Tamkang University (Department of Architecture) and OURs Community Action Team, *The Urban Designs*, p. 84.



since 1908 as a part of a monopoly plan of the Japanese's colonial government which organised a controlled market system.<sup>40</sup> Between 1932 and 1933, this market was the most profitable market in Taipei due to its convenient location and range of goods. The official tour guide of the Japanese government even recommends people to visit this market to gain an understanding of authentic Taiwanese life.<sup>41</sup> The original wooden building, which was built by the Japanese in 1908, has been replaced by a modern concrete building, Known as Yu-Le Market Complex. (Fig. 19)



Fig. 18. The Fabric shops inside the Yu-Le Market. (Chan-Peng Chuang, ed., 1997, p. 114)



Fig. 19. Yu-Le Market Complex. The modern building was renewed in 2000 with the building arcade and traditional elements on the ground and first floors in order to create a sense of historical continuity for the street. (Photo by author, 2001)

These living traditions give character to these shops and evoke memory of place, however, they also place limitations on the business development because they are no longer in the mainstream of consumption. In the past, family traditions helped to maintain this street as a local commercial centre which offered a variety of domestic products. Now family traditions help to retain traditional business and its characteristic buildings as a place of historical interest. This change reflects an actual social transformation in space that comes from the local history and reveals the memory of place.

40 The government controlled the resources of particular goods and emphasized different focus goods in different markets. Tien Chung I Erh, *Taipei City History*, 1931, pp. 516-517.

41 Hui-Wen Cheng, *Tataocheng Map*, p. 147.

### 3.2-2 Customs and Religious Events

Ti-Hua Street is a street for the common people because it coexists with the indigenous customs and religious events.<sup>42</sup> First of all, the impressive gathering of spice shops reflects the custom of taking tonic food, which is believed to invigorate people in all sorts of ways.<sup>43</sup> (Fig. 20-21)



Fig. 20. The diversity of tonic food and spices sold on Ti-Hua Street. A visual feast is created by the fascinating variety of dry food, snacks, canned seafood, and herbal medicines. (Photo by author, 2000)



Fig. 21. The display of a Chinese herbal medicine shop. (Photo by author, 1998)

Since the Japanese Occupation, these spice shops, including Chinese herb medicine shops and dry and pickled food shops, have predominated on this street. Traditionally, Chinese people take tonics at every stage of their lives. For instances, a pregnant woman needs to eat chicken with ginseng to give her and the baby strong physiques. Adolescents are recommended to take the "four drugs decoction" soup or herbal decoctions which are believed to improve their physical development. Older people take tonic foods for their failing sight and thinning hair. To the Chinese, these herbal medicines are like multi-vitamin pills to Westerners. Therefore, Ti-Hua Street is associated with this belief in tonic food. Although many young people do not share the belief in tonic food, herbal decoctions are still popular purchases. The diverse herbal medicines, and preserved foods send out aromas, and catch the eye, conjuring

42 This 'character' is mentioned in Wen-I Lin's prose: "I like the masses merriment of Ti-Hua Street. It is different with Kuei-Te Street which gives a feeling like a rich man's mansion. Kuei-Te Street is inaccessible to the common people." Yu-Min Chuang, *Old Taipei*, p. 66.

43 Jung Tang, "Another Side of Gourmet Eating-Tonic Foods," in ed., Chia-Feng Wang, *"Trademarks" of the Chinese*, Vol. 1, (Taipei: Sinorama Magazine, 1992), p. 39.

nostalgia for the splendid past of Ti-Hua Street. Ti-Hua Street is vivid in people's life and memory through the emotional, sensuous, and subjective dimensions.<sup>44</sup>

Another custom contributing to the significance of Ti-Hua Street is the Chinese Lunar New Year when the collection of spice shops reinforces the character of this specialist-shopping street, which provides abundant goods, foods, snacks, and decorations for the festival. An increase in pedestrians can be observed during the event known as 'New Year Shopping Street.' (Fig. 22) For example, during the weekend of the Chinese New Year in 1997, there were 5,452 pedestrians per hour on this street, which was more than 13 times the number on a normal weekend.<sup>45</sup> Clearly the continuity of the custom is essential to the survival of traditional business. Although the promotion of Ti-Hua Street as a 'New Year Shopping Street' is mostly an invention for improving its economy from 1996, it evokes memory of place and a sense of continuity with the historical past.



Fig. 22. Birdseye view showing the gathering of the crowds on Ti-Hua Street during the Chinese New Year. (Photo by author, 1998)

44 The experience on Ti-Hua Street justifies Downing's statement: "Memory presents the realm of past experience-- emotional, sensuous, and sometimes objective--that can simultaneously haunt our existence and help us image our future." Frances Downing, "Memory and the Making of Places," eds., K. A. Franck and L.H. Schneekloth, p. 233.

45 The popularity of this event was indicated by the increase of shopping crowds during the weekend of the Chinese New Year comparing to the period between 9th-20th, April 1997. The Housing Institute of R.O.C., "Survey data of New Year period and 9-20 April 1997," *The Comprehensive Development of Tataocheng Special District*, Ch.2, (Taipei: UDDT, 1997), pp. 2-9- 2-12.

The following elaborate description of Ti-Hua Street during the Chinese New Year demonstrates a collective memory. These sensual and emotional experiences enrich the identity of this street in memory:

"Pieces of golden paper-cuts, bright red New Year's scrolls, and many other New Year's decorations and toys are slowly revolving in the breeze, dancing in the warm winter air and twinkling in the sun-light. Flowing crowds with their heavy winter clothes swarm along the continuous shopping arcade for their New Year shopping. In order to attract customers, shop owners occupy the both sides of the arcade as display space and turn on many glittering lights. The originally dim arcade is therefore brightened by diverse goods, such as dried oranges, mullet roe, various dried cuttlefish, soft walnut cakes, roasted shelled peanuts, delicious seasoned melon seeds, dried fragrant mushrooms, an assortment of candies and cookies, all kinds of house decorations for the New Year, and herbal medicines. These goods are displayed or hung in the arcade to attract customers to taste, smell and touch while they are chatting with company, or bargaining with shopkeepers. These fascinating colours and the sensual atmosphere are also enhanced by the intricate shop signs, old interiors, and richly decorated facades of these prestigious historical shops. Together they create a unique sense of place and a festival atmosphere."<sup>46</sup> (My translation) (Fig. 23)



Fig. 23. Ti-Hua Street in the evening during the Chinese New Year. (Photo by author, 1998)

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46 Hua-Fan University (Department of Architecture), *Survey and Restoration Report for Hsiahai Chenghuang Temple*, (Taipei: Department of Civic Affairs, 1992), pp. 110-111.



Thirdly, religious events have played an important role in the life and memory of Ti-Hua Street since early times as the migrants constructed the street around their religious centre, Hsiahai Chenghuang Temple in the Ching dynasty. The Hsiahai Chenghuang Temple (dedicated to the City God) is still the centre of religion for local people as well as attracting pilgrims from all over Taiwan. According to the Tataocheng Symposium of Respected Old People, the Hsiahai Chenghuang Temple was built in 1856 for the worship of the deity of migrants from the south of Mainland China.<sup>47</sup> The temple gave spiritual comfort to those migrants who settled in Taiwan. The construction of this temple coincided with the development of Tataocheng. For example, in 1879, the first Hsiahai Chenghuang festival was held with the support of the successful tea industry. The belief in Hsiahai Chenghuang, which is associated with economic success, became popular all over Taiwan.

The success of this religious event can be seen from the records of the annual festival of Hsiahai Chenghuang Temple in 1913. The profits of shops during these three days (11th, 12th and 13th of May) were more than ten times those on normal days.<sup>48</sup> And Ti-Hua Street had a thousand times more pedestrians than on normal days. This annual festival continued under the Occupation and reached its climax in 1920 with the economic and political promotion of the Government.<sup>49</sup> According to Sung Kuang-Yu, there were three major reasons for this success of the festival: firstly, the Japanese Colonial Government intended to exalt the contribution of the Japanese Empire in Taiwan through the prosperity of this religious festival. Secondly, shop owners wanted to promote their commodities. Thirdly, the construction of a railway to Tataocheng in 1908 brought a large number of pilgrims from the central and southern Taiwan to join this event.<sup>50</sup>

Due to this success, whenever people think of the 13th of May it evokes memories of this grand festival. Especially during the Japanese Occupation, the Temple was the

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47 Huai Wu, "Tataocheng Symposium of Respected Old People," *Taipei Cultural Artefacts*, Vol. 2, Per. 3, n.d., p. 6

48 *Taiwan Daily News*, 21 June 1914, and Hua-Fan University (Department of Architecture), *Survey and Restoration*, p. 60.

49 The annual festivals had a short break period between 1895 to 1897, and have continued since 1898. Hua-Fan University (Department of Architecture), *Survey and Restoration*, p. 60.



centre of religion for local people as well as for pilgrims from all over Taiwan.<sup>51</sup> (Fig. 24) According to government statistics, in 1921, nearly 300,000 pilgrims and visitors came during 8th-13th of May. An old Taiwanese proverb, "On the 13th of May, people watch people," describes the grand gathering for this annual festival. Large groups of pilgrims, tourists, local residents, and performers, such as those in the grand parade of Hsiahai Chenghuang, interact and consolidate personal memories of place and shared group memory. (Fig. 25)

	
<p>Fig. 24. The annual festival of Hsiahai Chenghuang brought pilgrims, tourists and performers to this area during the Japanese Occupation. (Yu-Min Chuang, <i>Tataocheng Wanderings</i>, 1996, p. 45)</p>	<p>Fig. 25. The grand parade of Hsiahai Chenghuang Festival today. (Yu-Ming Chuang, <i>The Old Taipei</i>, 1996, p. 90).</p>

This religious festival had been criticised from 1930 because it encouraged superstition, lavishness and commercialisation. However, it coexisted with the booming economy and provided religious comfort for the Taiwanese.<sup>52</sup> Thus, religious, economic and political forces are integrated into life experience and tradition. The scale of the festival varied from year to year but the tradition continues to influence the use of space. For example, the committee of Hsiahai Chenghuang Temple builds observation decks in front of the Yu-Le Market for people who come to see the grand parade.<sup>53</sup> In addition, street arcades also are used for altars to worship the God.

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50 Ibid., p. 60.  
 51 The 13th of May in Chinese Lunar calendar is the birthday of Hsiahai Chenghuang, thus its celebration becomes the annual festival. The annual festival on the 13th of May used to be one of the biggest religious festivals during the Japanese Occupation. Yu-Min Chuang, *The Old Taipei*, pp. 89-90.  
 52 Hua-Fan University (Department of Architecture), *Survey and Restoration*, p. 60.

### 3.2-3. Specific Places

Dolores Hayden states that the "power of place" comes from local and public history and generates a sense of cultural belonging.<sup>54</sup> Ti-Hua Street clearly demonstrates how such public history and cultural identity relates to specific places creating memory of place. These specific places around Ti-Hua Street hold cultural and social activities that recall personal experience and evoke the history of Tataocheng. For example, several places become memorable because they are related to the "Culture Enlightenment Movement" which encouraged Taiwanese culture as a non-violent resistance to the Japanese Occupation. There was the Culture Association organised in Ta-An Hospital (on Yen-Peng North Road). On Kuei-Te Street, there was an office of *Taiwan Civic News*, and a Cultural Bookshop, which organized a series of Culture Seminars to promote independent thought and modernism in Taiwanese society. Public places like Chun-Feng-Te-I Restaurant and Yu-Le Theatre were used as meeting places for intellectuals to disseminate their political and cultural ideas.<sup>55</sup> The Yu-Le Theatre played films produced in Shang-Hai, and performed Taiwanese Operas, Chinese Operas, and modern plays,<sup>56</sup> demonstrating an emerging interest in cultural nationalism under the Occupation.

These places remain meaningful because of the political ideology infused with cultural identity during the Occupation. This character was founded upon on the strong economy of Tataocheng which fostered the image of a cultural centre, with the gathering of the social elite around cafes, restaurants, and bars. For example: Bolero Western Restaurant became a centre where artists, musicians and writers exchanged ideas and held many cultural events.<sup>57</sup> Shan-Shui-Ting Restaurant was another example. This restaurant provided space for the editorial department of the Taiwanese Literature Magazine. In addition, the owner, Ching-Chuan Wang, sponsored literary events, magazines and plays. Thus, these places are linked in memory to the political and cultural past of Tataocheng.

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53 Ibid., p. 68.

54 Dolores Hayden, *The Power*.

55 Yu-Min Chuang, *Old Taipei*, p. 62.

56 Yu-Chien Hsu, *The Cultural Transformation*, p. 183.

57 The owner of the restaurant, Liao Shui-Lai, sponsored many cultural activities during the Occupation. Yu-Min Chuang, *The Old Taipei*, p. 62.

Specific places evoke memories of particular activities and experiences. As Halbwachs states, memory has to be linked to lived experience, otherwise it is reduced to "history."<sup>58</sup> Places become memorable when they are associated with particular experience in their social and historical context.<sup>59</sup> For example, the arcade of Ti-Hua Street has a specific place in working women's history. During the late nineteenth century and the early twentieth century, the labour to pick tea-leaves was desperately needed by the prosperous tea industry and mainly fulfilled by women. A survey of 1903 shows that in the high season shops hired more than 20,000 women every day.<sup>60</sup> Thus, the arcade in Ti-Hua Street provides an image of working women's space and has its special memory in the working history of the tea industry. (Fig. 26)



Fig. 26. Working women in the tea industry. (Hui-Wen Cheng, 1999, p. 68)

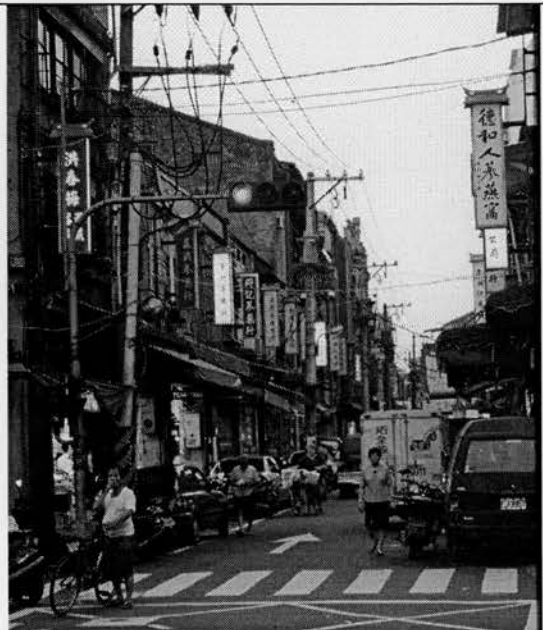


Fig. 27. Historical shops on Ti-Hua Street. (Photo by author, 2001)

However, the boundary between memory and history on a historical street is actually blurred because specific places are recalled by historical events and lived experience, even if some of these places have disappeared or are desolated. (Fig. 27) Today, a few historical shops and Hsiahai Chenghuang Temple remain only because they are

<sup>58</sup> M. Christine Boyer, *The City*, p. 26.

<sup>59</sup> Halbwachs suggested that memories "were recalled by time periods, by recollecting places visited and by situating ideas or images in patterns of thought belonging to specific social group." Ibid.

an integral part of people's customs and religious life. They are still active in everyday life though with newer aspects, such as annual festival events, and commercial promotions. Ti-Hua Street represents the memory of past experience, as Downing suggests, from an emotional, sensual and objective point of view, but it also ties together its historical, social and religious background. Such memory is "authentic" because its existence is drawn from the lives of the people.

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60 Hui-Wen Cheng, *Tataocheng Map*, pp. 69-70.

### 3.3 The Visual Simulation

#### 3.3-1 The Transformation of Buildings

The transformation of buildings reveals the visual simulation in cityscape, by which Lefebvre suggests we understand space and society because

"The architect is supposed to construct a signifying space wherein form is to function as signifier is to signified; the form, in other words, is supposed to be espoused by most 'designers,' the environment can be furnished with or animated by signs in such a way as to appropriate space, in such a way that space becomes readable to society as a whole."<sup>61</sup>

During this process of reading space as signifier of society, various visual signs which record the influence of power, history, and culture in space, are essential for discovering "authenticity." These visual impressions are expressed by spatial form and by commercial activities. Both show the powerful simulation of imposed cultures and authorities. In terms of spatial form, Ti-Hua Street is the only street in Taipei where you can see shop buildings retained from the Ching dynasty, the Japanese Occupation, and after the Second World War. These diverse architectural styles lend an impressive visual aspect to this street. Many of these buildings are in European Baroque styles introduced by Japanese planners, while some are a mixture of Western architecture styles and traditional Taiwanese elements. These buildings give a historical sense to the streetscape as opposed to the simulation of historical elements by modern development.

Originally, this was mainly a decorative change of façade to emphasize the prosperity of wealth and political power, which shows the colonial ambition for constructing a modern image of Taipei. However, the architectural form became important to enhance commerce and had a symbolic meaning. For example, the clock on the facade of Chien-Yuan-Heng Chinese herbal medicine shop was a symbol to express its importance among other herbal medicine shops, because it was not common to have a clock on the facade of a private house in the late nineteenth century. (Fig. 28)

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61 Lefebvre, *The Production*, p. 144.





Fig. 28. The façade of Chien-Yuan-Heng Chinese herbal medicine shop. The original clock was replaced by the circular window. (Photo by Author, 1999)

Today, the majority of existing buildings are actually the remnants of the Japanese urban policy that extended the street system of Tataocheng but their interior plans have changed little since the Ching dynasty. Thus, the following discussion will focus on the transformation of building façades. The historical buildings remain mainly between Kui-Sui Street and Nan-King West Road. This area roughly corresponds to Middle Street (between Kui-Sui Street to Min-Sheng West Road) and South Street (between Min-Sheng West Road to Hsiahai Chenghuang Temple) and they date from the Ching dynasty.<sup>62</sup> (Fig. 29)

<sup>62</sup> There are 19 historical buildings built in either Neo-Baroque or early Modernist styles on Ti-Hua Street, between Kui-Sui Street and Min-Sheng West Road. Their building period stretched from the Ching dynasty to the liberation from the Japanese. The area between Min-Sheng West Road and Nan-King West Road has 20 historical buildings built mainly during the Japanese Occupation. They are also in Baroque or Modernist styles. Urban Design Department of Taipei City Government, *The Development Plan of Tataocheng Special District*, June, (Taipei: UDDT, 1997), pp. 1-12- 1-14.

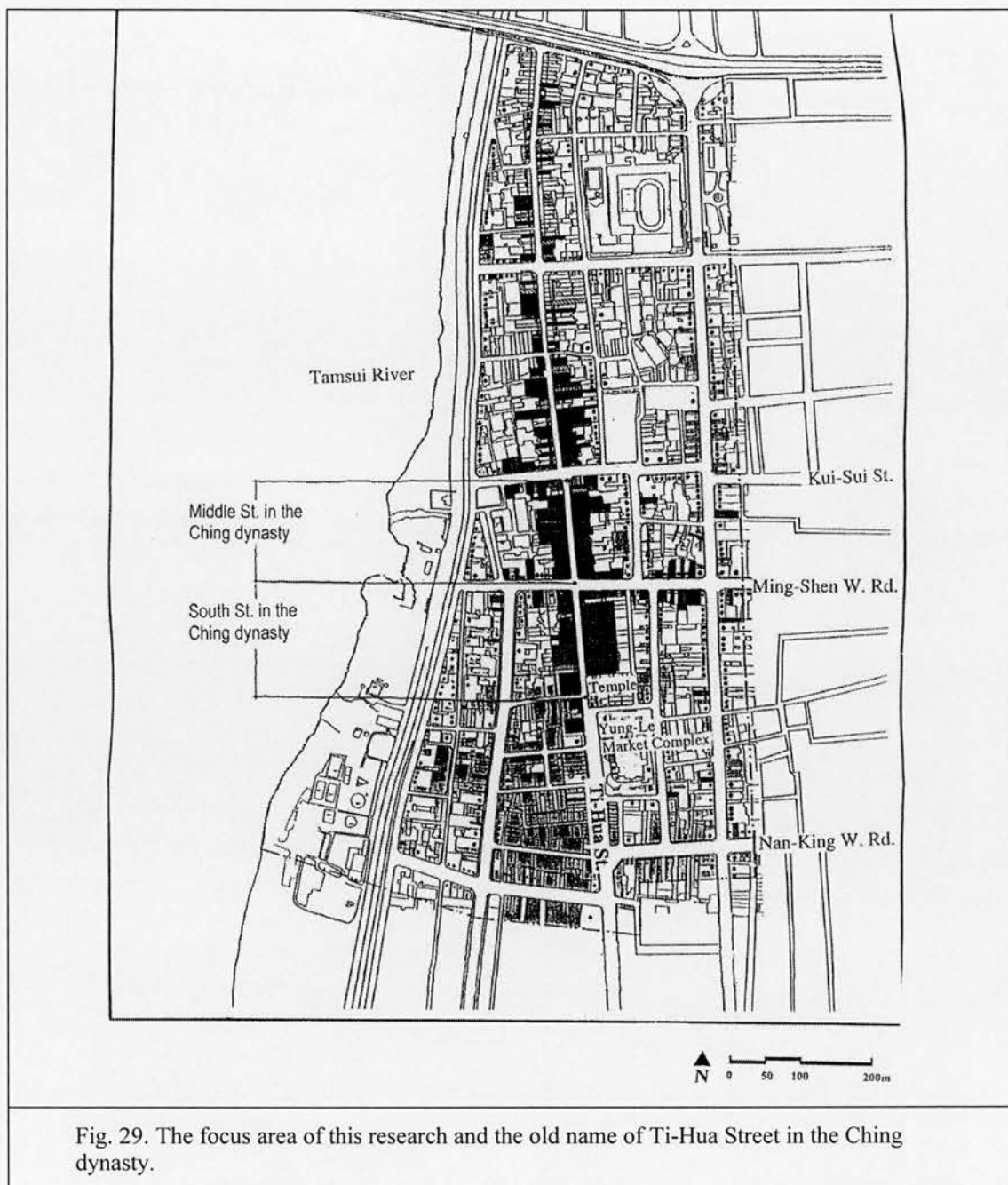
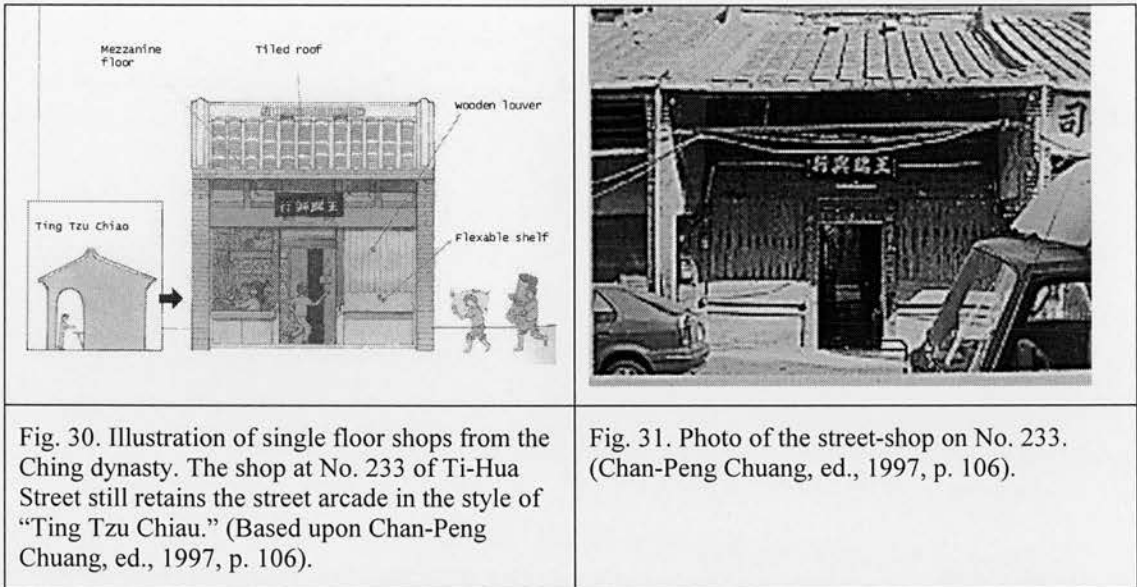


Fig. 29. The focus area of this research and the old name of Ti-Hua Street in the Ching dynasty.

The existing architecture can be divided into four types:

1. Single floor shops from the Ching dynasty: This is the earliest building style on this street. The major characteristics of these shops have slanting tiled roofs, wooden framed windows, wooden doors and arcades. (Fig. 30-31) They are mainly constructed of earthen walls or brick, and do not have decorations. And were built by migrants from South China. Some examples remain on the north section of Ti-Hua Street.



2. Original arcaded shops: These shops have complicated carved facades which are the most impressive building elements on this street. (Fig. 32-33) They were built under the Japanese colonial government after 1920 according to the "Taiwan Housing Building Regulation" and mainly influenced by European Baroque.<sup>63</sup> The use of reinforced concrete columns gives an open aspect to this street because it can support larger arches than traditional construction. Thus, although the width of each shop is the same as before, they look bigger and give a visual order.

3. Prosperous arch shops: These buildings utilise highly decorated facades with columns, arched windows, concrete carving and sculptures and were built in the late 1920s and 1930s. (Fig. 34-35) Their intricate facades express the prosperous economy of Ti-Hua Street and are used as a type of advertisement.<sup>64</sup> Due to their impressive character, many of these buildings are preserved as listed buildings under the regulation of cultural asset, such as numbers 120, 131, 148, 150 and 152, in Section One.<sup>65</sup>

63 The original shops of Ti-Hua Street which built in the Ching dynasty were seriously damaged by a strong typhoon in 1911. The Japanese government used this opportunity to renew this area, imposing new image.

64 Hsien-His Ho, (1990: 82), cited in Tsung-Te Teng, *The Formation*, pp. 38-39.

65 Tamkang University (Department of Architecture) and OURs Community Action Team, *The Urban Designs*, p.75

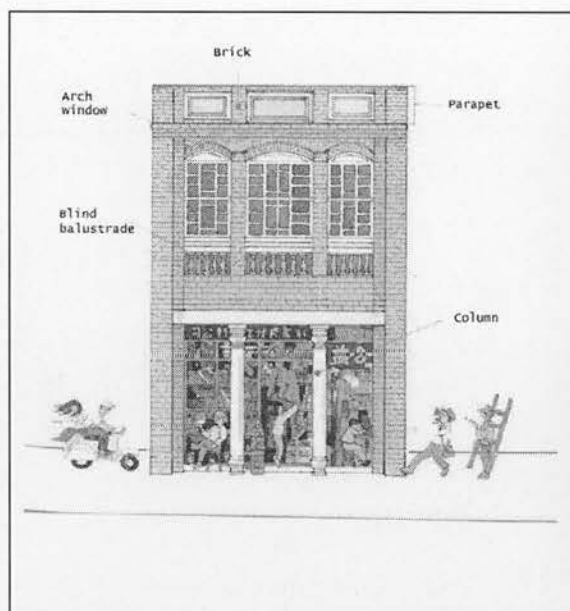


Fig. 32. Illustration of original arcade shops built after 1920. (Chan-Peng Chuang, ed., 1997, p. 107)



Fig. 33. The arcade space during the Chinese New Year period. The arcade has been covered by the advertisements of the shops. (Photo by author, 1998)

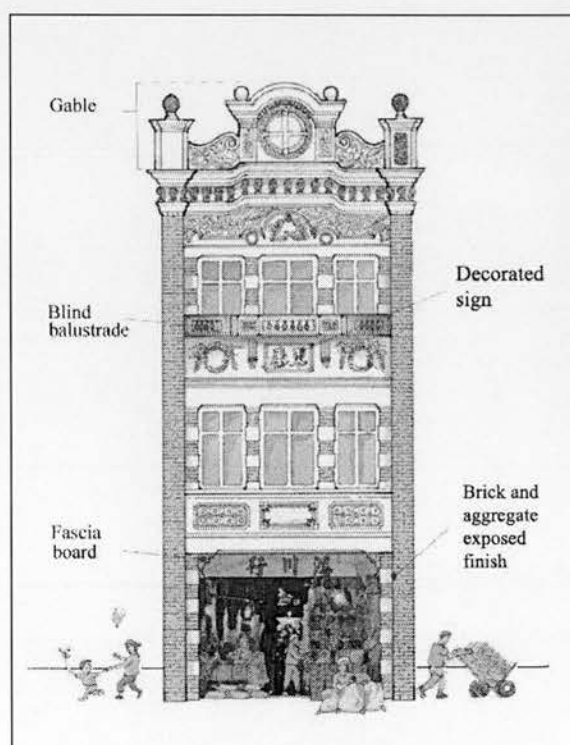
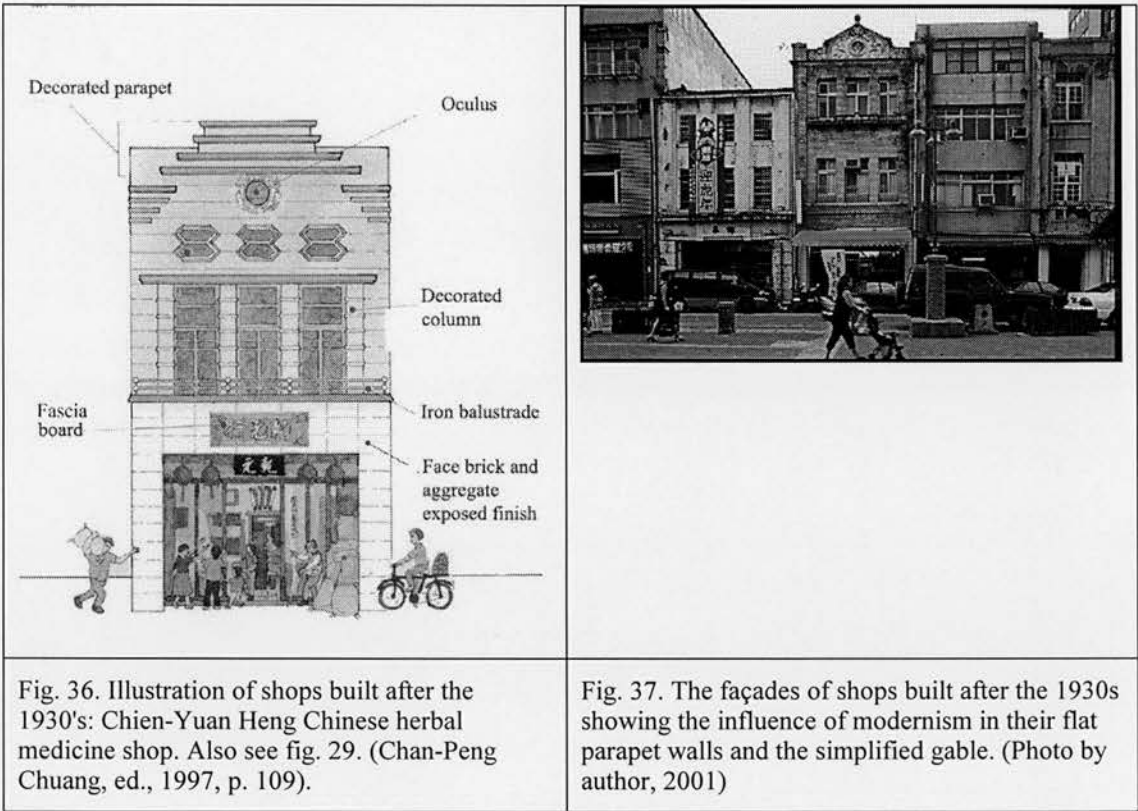


Fig. 34. Illustration of prosperous arcade shops built in the late 1920s and 1930s. (Chan-Peng Chuang, ed., 1997, p. 108).



Fig. 35. The detail of the façade of the arcade shops built in the late 1920s and 1930s. (Chan-Peng Chuang, ed., 1997, p. 108).

4. Shops built after the 1930s: These buildings show the influences of early modernism with flat parapet walls instead of fancy gables. (Fig. 36-37) They are designed with geometric forms and simple decorations. The representative examples are numbers 32, 34, 71, 144 and 146, in Section One.<sup>66</sup>



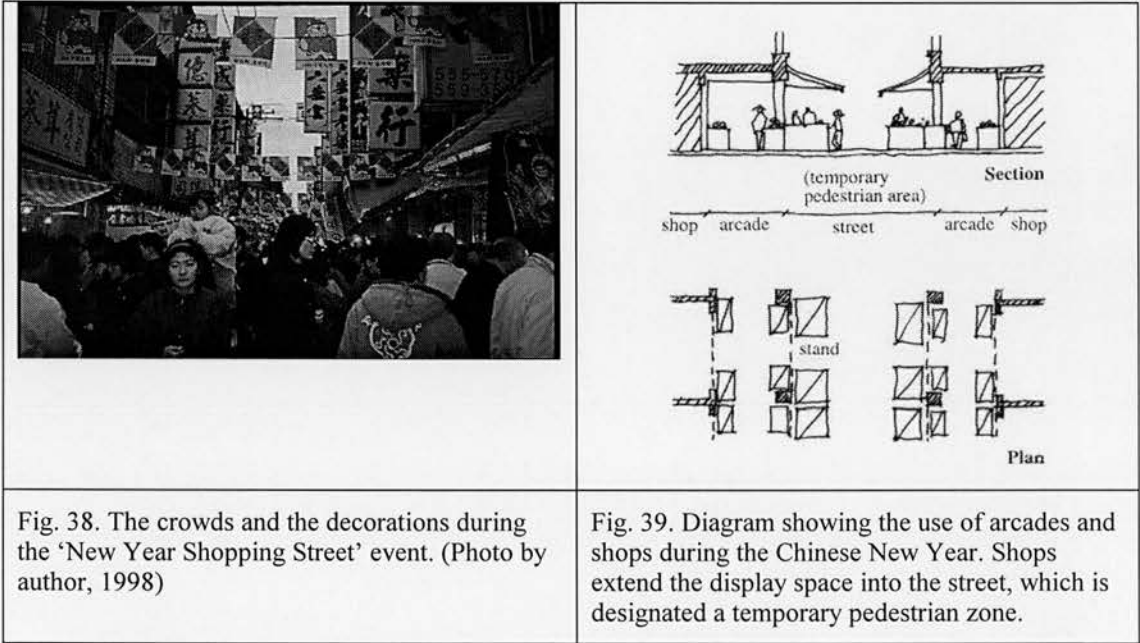
These buildings expressed the modernising ambition in imposing European style of architecture on one hand, but on the other, expressed Taiwanese cultural identity with traditional decorations by Taiwanese artisans. This is a record of historical influence and cultural identity.

In addition, there are a few modern office buildings in this section, such as Yu-Le Market Complex, the First Commercial Bank Building, and the Kuang-Chuan Building. They are the products of the drive for modernisation bringing the reality of hegemonic development in modern Taipei to the historical Ti-Hua Street. These buildings lack proper consideration of the surrounding historical environment, and thus are not coherent with the character of the historical street.

<sup>66</sup> Ibid.



The spatial form was also temporarily affected by commercial activities. For example, as a part of a redevelopment plan to increase the commercial value of Ti-Hua Street from 1996, it has been used as a temporary pedestrian zone in order to accommodate shopping crowds and reinforce the image of the festive New Year Shopping Street. (Fig. 38) Thus, the arcades of this street serve both as a passageway that shields people from uncomfortable weather, and an extended display space. Especially before the Chinese Lunar New Year, display stands occupy both sides of the arcade leaving a narrow path for the shopping crowd. This arrangement creates an intimate festive atmosphere with an amazing quantity and variety of goods. The street and arcade are bustling with customers and with the competitive chanting from sales people ringing out. (Fig. 39)



Shop spaces, arcades and street are thus transformed from a daily shopping space to a place of festivity and special consumption. Although this phenomenon is an invention of commercial and political institutions, it does give the street a chance to reclaim its grandeur and former importance in the development of Taipei. Therefore, the visual landscape of Ti-Hua Street, in its temporary change of spatial form and in the transformation of its arcades, promotes the sense of history as a spatial product. This enhances the image of this street for economic and political reasons. Nostalgic

feelings are thus evoked by symbolic spatial forms and transformed into a commodity.

### 3.3-2 Changing Commercial Activities

Over and above these festive events of Ti-Hua Street, one finds its essence and appeal are revealed in various commercial activities.<sup>67</sup>

As one walked past those early Modernist buildings, turning into Ti-Hua Street from the cross-roads of Kui-Sui Street and Ti-Hua Street, the first thing one noticed was the linked arcades of herbal medicine shops and preserved food shops (25 August, 1997). These are the dominant type on the street. For instance, there are 20 Chinese herbal medicine shops and 10 preserved food shops out of 39 shops between Kui-Sui Street and Ming-Sheng West Road.<sup>68</sup> Herbal medicine shops gradually take over from preserved food shops on the south and middle section of Ti-Hua Street because medicine shops have better profits than food shops and can afford the increasing rents.<sup>69</sup> (Fig. 40)

Although lacking modern commercial decoration, the fascinating variety of dry food, snacks, canned seafood, and herbal medicines in one shop after another create a visual feast. (See Fig. 20-21) Fabric shops (inside the Yeng-Leh Market and between Ming-Sheng West Road and Nan-King west Road) are the third most important type of business on Ti-Hua Street.<sup>70</sup> Their colourful fabrics create further visual stimulation to this area.

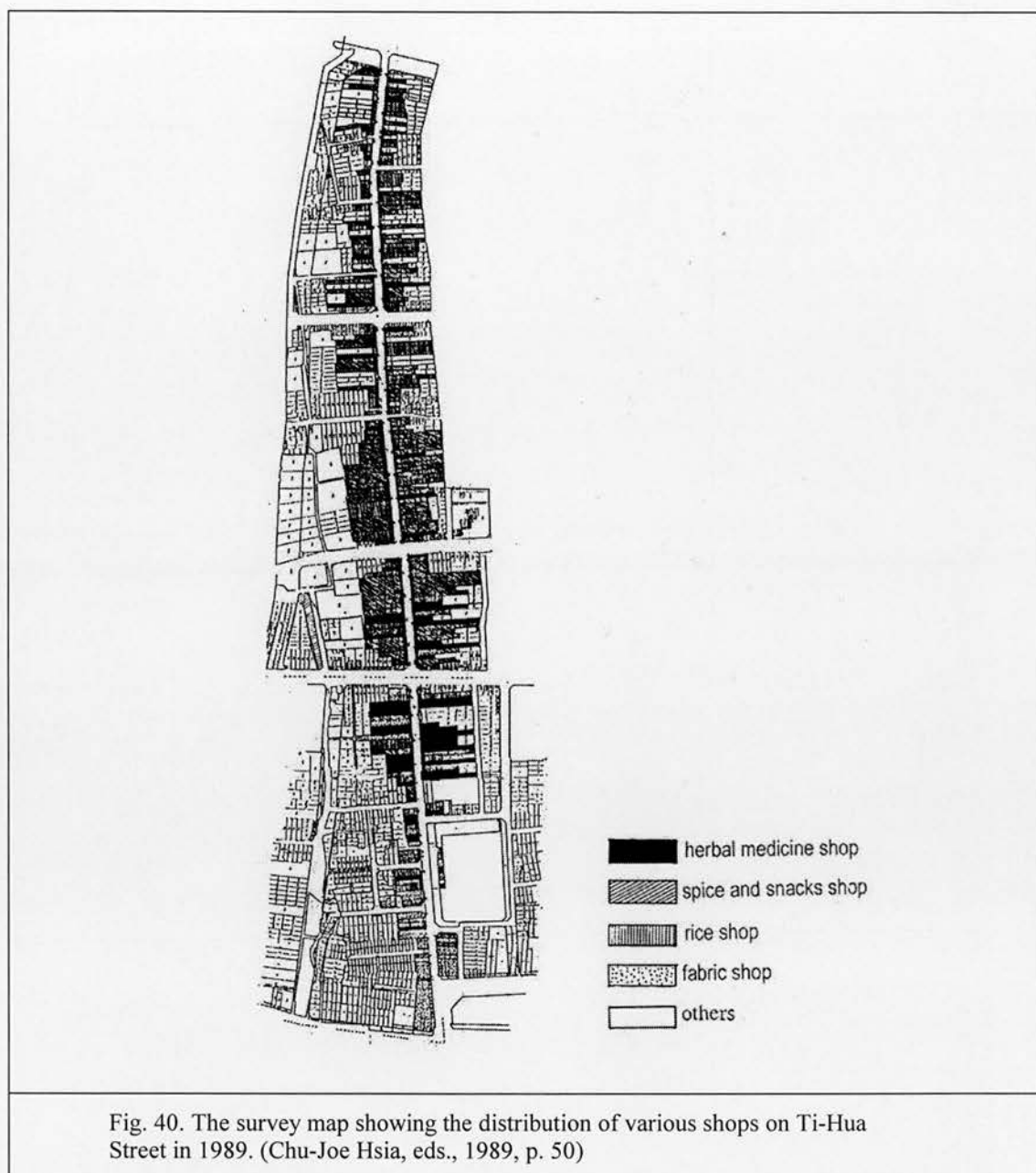
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67 The focus area of this observation on Ti-Hua Street is mainly on the section between Kui-Sui Street and Hsiahai Chenghuang Temple.

68 Urban Design Department of Taipei, *The Development Plan*, p. 1-12.

69 Tamkang University (Department of Architecture) and OURs Community Action Team, *The Urban Designs*, p. 69.

70 Ibid., p. 67.



The change of commodities from tea, sugar, oil and rice, in the Ching dynasty, to herb medicine, fabric and local products was a survival strategy of local business in response to the monopoly of tea and rice held by the Japanese colonial government. Some of those shops, such as Chien-Yu-Hang, Iao-Cheng-Chi, and Lin-Fu-Chen, have been established on this street since Japanese Occupation. The products in these preserved food shops has recently changed to dried mushrooms, canned seafood and many other imported food products. In addition, goods related to health and natural healing are also popular here just as organic food gains popularity in contemporary

society. The changes in the goods for sale and the type of shops on Ti-Hua Street thus reflect the changes in society. Here one is reminded of Georg Simmel and Sharon Zukin's common belief that public space shows the impact of time and money.<sup>71</sup>

From the Ching dynasty until the early period of the recovery of Taiwan, the attraction of this street was as a local commercial centre offering a great variety of domestic products. However, since those domestic products are no longer essential in modern society, this street now attracts people through historical interest in its remaining historical buildings and traditional business. The commercial activities here are limited to the sale of these non-mainstream products because of the limitations of the narrow shop space, as well as political negligence in the development of this street.<sup>72</sup>

These changes of commercial activity herald the emerging concept of cultural consumption based on the rich historical background of Ti-Hua Street. Such cultural consumption, including commercial events, cultural tours and preservation of heritage are a response to reverse the decline of this area.<sup>73</sup> A series of walking tours, festival activities and Chinese New Year programmes focus on advertising Ti-Hua Street as a living cultural centre with both historical character and commercial interest. Commercial advertisements have been used to stimulate business during the annual festival of Hsiahai Chenghuang Temple since 1920, as well as today's Chinese Lunar New Year promotions. For example, a description of this temple festival in 1926 gave more details of this economic impact on space:

“Because the festival days of Hsiahai Chenghuang Temple are the busiest period of sales, shop owners on Ti-Hua Street hired more workers and extended the display of commodities half a month ago. These days, every archway has become a selling space with displays to attract customers. In

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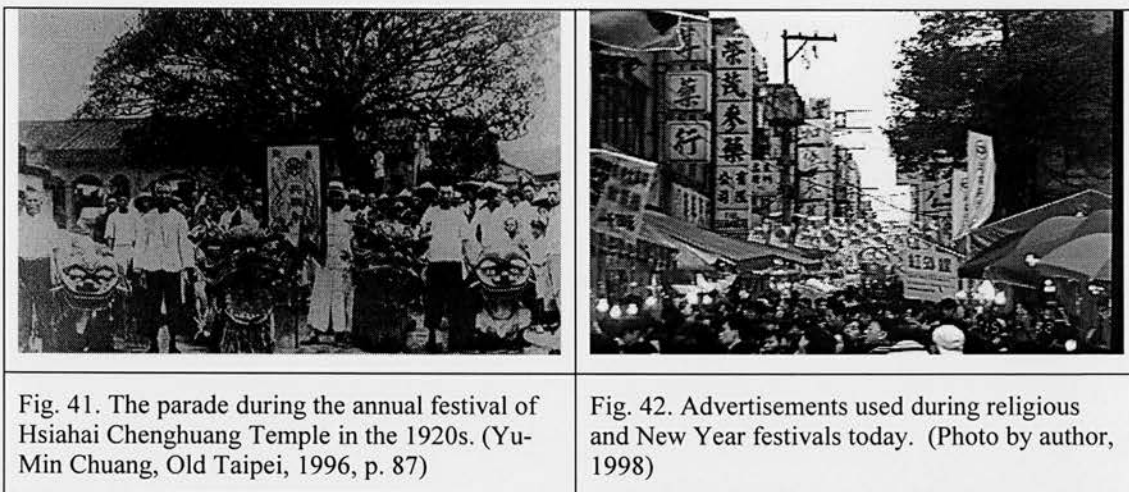
71 Sharon Zukin, *The Cultures*, p. 189.

72 The Japanese colonial government wanted to develop Taipei Castle as the political and economic centre of the city and intended to suspend the development of Tataocheng area.

73 For example, in 1995 the Urban Design Department of Taipei set up a branch office, Ti-Hua Street Community Office, to arrange annual programmes of festivals and cultural activities in cooperation

addition, these shopping crowd also boost other related business, such as restaurants, drink shops, and hotels in this area.”<sup>74</sup>

This description of the festival, written 76 years ago, still holds true for the periods of religious festival and New Year. This street is like a living record of the history of consumption in Taipei. (Fig. 41-42)



Commercial activities affecting the visual image of the street associate it with social and political concerns. For example, during the Japanese Occupation, the visual simulation of the West represented a symbolic modernization imposed by colonial authority, while the commercial activities indicated a preservation of Taiwanese culture under the imposition of Japanese culture. Today, the visual simulation on this street is dominated by commercial activities and conservation policy resulting in the festival programme and redesign of shop signs to enhance the historical significance.<sup>75</sup> These social, political and commercial concerns transform the use of the space and the appearance of buildings.

The visual simulation is not simply the fruit of a localized culture but shows a process of political formation and the importation of foreign culture. That is to say, it presents the image of an authentic Taiwanese Street, which is nonetheless full of

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with local communities and private organizations. One of such cooperation institutions is Leh-Shan Culture and Education Institution.

<sup>74</sup> *Daily News*, 23 June 1926.



modern Western simulation. This indicates that if simulation is sympathetic to our culture and life, many considered it as “authentic” and integral to today’s reality.<sup>76</sup> As with the importation of foreign culture in Ti-Hua Street in the past provides an “authentic” nostalgia in today’s modern cityscape.

### 3.3-3 The Influence of Mass Media

The mass media plays an important role in creating the visual image of Ti-Hua Street, which is portrayed in various forms by different media. The diverse forms of Ti-Hua Street elaborate visual simulation in advertisements, newspapers, paintings and literary forms. These reveal the influence of the media on economic promotion, cultural identity and civic participation.

Firstly, there is a long history of the use of mass media for commercial advertisement to promote economic activities. The media was used to stimulate the declining business of Ti-Hua Street during the annual festival of Hsiahai Chenghuang Temple in 1920, and they are used in today's promotion of New Year Shopping Street. In the past, Tataocheng merchants established the image of Tataocheng as the wholesale centre of Taiwan in the local religious events. For example, the grand parade of Hsiahai Chenghuang Temple Festival had put commercial advertisements for those shops which financially supported the festival on one side of the festival flags.<sup>77</sup>

Recently, the branch office of the Urban Design Department of Taipei, Ti-Hua Street Community Office, co-operated with local communities to arrange annual programmes of festivals and cultural activities. All of the tourist brochures, official gazetteers, and advertisements concentrate on Ti-Hua Street's economic activities and cultural heritage while highlighting its conservation value. (Fig. 43-44) Mass media is used for those activities in various ways. For example, the New Year Shopping



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75 Shop signs are redesigned in order to improve the visual impression of streetscape. UDDT, *The Improvement Plan of Shop Signs and Street Lighting on Ti-Hua Street*, Urban Design Department of Taipei, 1999.

76 This refers to Baudrillard’s argument that culture is now dominated by simulation. ed., Neil Leach, *Rethinking Architecture- A Reader in Cultural Theory*, (London & New York: Routledge, 1997), p. 209.

77 Quang-Yeu Song, (1989: 6), Hua-Fan University (Department of Architecture), *Survey and Restoration Report*, p. 66.

Street uses radio and television, advertisements on buses, posters, guide maps, street signs, flags, the Internet and press conferences in order to promote and create the festival atmosphere.<sup>78</sup>

	
<p>Fig. 43. The book cover of a tourist brochure for Ti-Hua Street showing its old harbour. (Yu-Min Chuang, Tataocheng Wanderings, 1996).</p>	<p>Fig. 44. The shopping map of Ti-Hua Street promoting its historical image designed for the new year event of 1996. (Taipei City Government, 1996).</p>

The economic motive for these New Year activities are clearly stated in the *Programme of New Year Shopping Street*:

“[The aim of this event is]- To extend the special tradition of the historical street, attract crowds in order to stimulate local business, impute the new energy to old streets, and enhance the commercial attraction for shops in order to increase their profits.

- To attract tourists to the old street where they can taste snacks, buy goods to celebrate Chinese New Year, and enjoy the bustling atmosphere of Chinese New Year.”<sup>79</sup>

These efforts emphasise the importance of media promotion for the conservation of historical streets in a consumer society. A historical street cannot survive alone if it is estranged from modern life. Therefore, the use of mass media to enhance its cultural

<sup>78</sup> Urban Design Development of Taipei, *Programme of the New Year Shopping Street*, 1998.  
<sup>79</sup> Ibid., p. 3.

identity with commercial activities will help to maintain it within the “authenticity” of traditional customs. However, should these commercial activities promote cultural identity related to the real life experience, in order to avoid becoming visual simulation of the West or the Past?

Secondly, mass media are influenced by various visual simulations, which represent cultural identity. The current representation of Ti-Hua Street has exploited the cultural development of Tataocheng area in its early history. During the Japanese Occupation, Ti-Hua Street was a popular subject in the work of painters, musicians, scholars, and writers who gathered in the restaurants, coffee shops, bars and theatres of this area. Shyr Chuan's 'Hsiahai Chenghuang Temple', San-Lang Yang's 'Ti-Hua Street' (1946), 'Tea Shop in Lui-Kuan' (1938), and 'Tea Shop' (1945), were regarded as the symbolic expression of the native Taiwanese culture. (Fig. 45) These paintings express technical skill in sketching while presenting a peaceful atmosphere showing the European influence taught by Japanese painters.<sup>80</sup> Meanwhile Sheue-Hwu Kuo's "Prosperous South Street" portrays Ti-Hua Street from a different perspective which is influenced by Japanese prints and woodcuts. (Fig. 46) In this painting, he expresses the prosperous atmosphere of Ti-Hua Street by using strong colours- red, yellow and blue, by exaggerating the height of the shop façade making it one floor higher, and emphasising various shop signs, and the crowds. These different visual simulations of Ti-Hua Street reflect the political and cultural imposition upon the artists.

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80 Shyr Chan studied watercolour painting in England. Afterward, he taught painting in Japan and Taiwan. Chung-Hsien Yen, *An Analysis*, pp. 137-138.

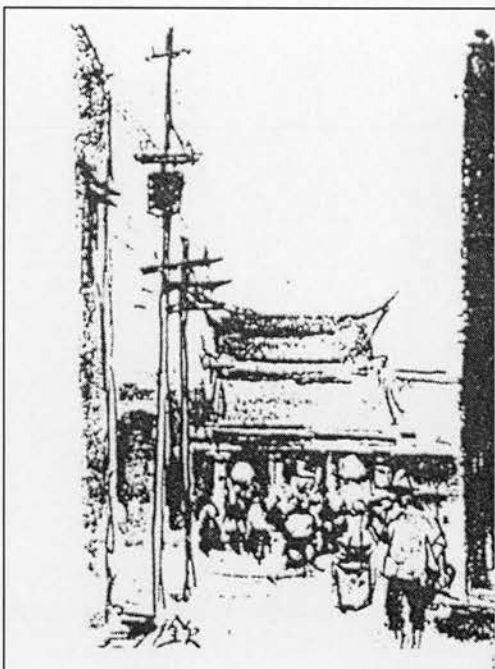


Fig. 45. Shyr Chuan's 'Hsiahai Chenghuang Temple' (1946). (Hua-Fan University, 1992, p.45)

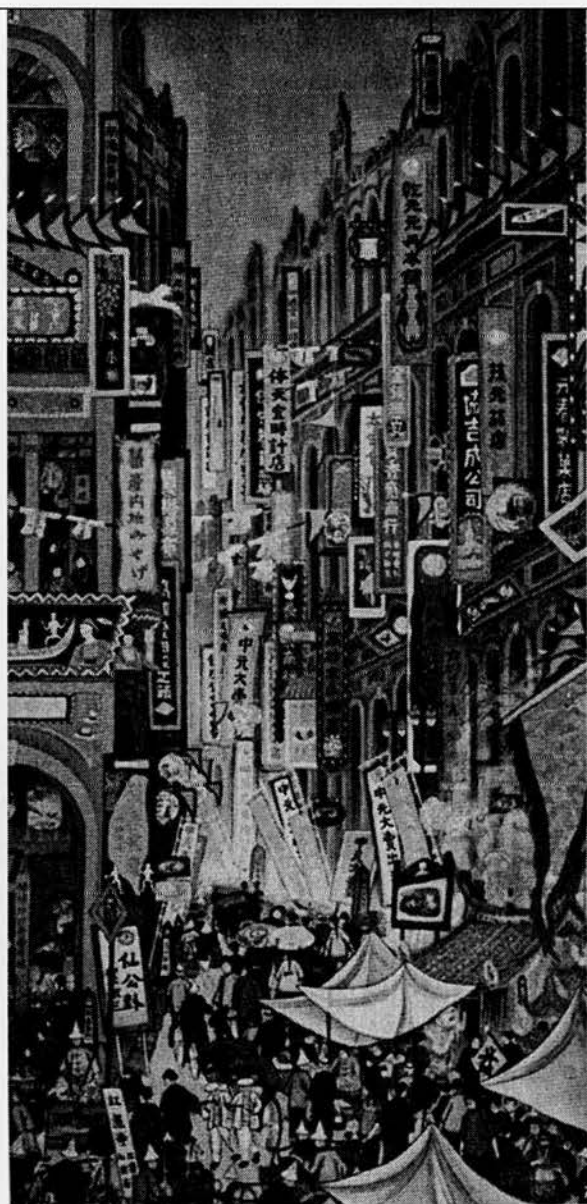


Fig. 46. Sheue-Hwu Kuo's "Prosperous South Street" portrays Ti-Hua Street. (Yu-Min Chuang, The Old Taipei, 1996, p. 85).

In addition, the media can help transform places from purely consuming spaces into places of cultural consumption with the participation of users and shop owners. For example, the Bolero Western Restaurant on Ming-Sheng West Road was popular among artists, musicians and writers since it opened in 1928. This was because its owner, Shui-Lai Liao, was interested in and sponsored art activities. The advertisement of this restaurant on the catalogue of the first Tai-Yang Art Exhibition was in three languages- Chinese, Japanese and English and emphasised music to



attract the emerging customers of Western culture.<sup>81</sup> (Fig. 47-48) It indicates the cultural and social influence from Japan and Western countries. Shan-Shui-Ting Restaurant was another example that was promoted by the media for hosting cultural events because it provided space for the editorial department of the Taiwanese Literature Magazine.

	
<p>Fig. 47. The advertisement for the Bolero Western Restaurant was in three languages-Chinese, Japanese and English showing the multi-cultural influence in the 1930s. (Yu-Min Chuang, The Old Taipei, 1996, p. 111)</p>	<p>Fig. 48. Music was emphasized on the sign of the Bolero Restaurant to attract the increasing number of customers for Western culture in the 1930s. (Yu-Min Chuang, The Old Taipei, 1996, p. 109)</p>

Thirdly, mass media evoked civic participation for the preservation of Ti-Hua Street. Scholars and people concerned about this last historical street of Taipei brought the issue of preservation to public attention through the media.<sup>82</sup> The possible loss of Ti-Hua Street raised public concern and participation as a result of media influence. A series of official research, public discussions, TV programs and newspapers ensued. Ti-Hua Street was designated a Special District with its own development and conservation plan in November 1988 as a result of the ability of the powerful media

81 This restaurant was advertised as a 'Music Palace' because it had a precious automatic record player at the time. Ibid., pp. 133-134.  
 82 The original 7.8 metre width street had been planned to extend to 20 metres in the Zoning Plan of Taipei in 1967. By August 1988, Ti-Hua Street was nearly demolished in accordance with this Zoning Plan until it got public attention.



to evoke memory, and feelings of nostalgia, highlighting the historical value of this street, which in turn influenced policy making.

The visual simulation here represents an “authentic” social influence on the transformation of buildings, changes of commercial activities, and demonstrates the importance of the mass media. In such simulation, authenticity exists in the streetscape where social factors interact with people’s life. Thus, the simulation reveals the changing nature of the perception of authenticity and its close relationship with the transformation of the contemporary cityscape.

### 3.4 Mobility within Space

By mobility, I mean changes in the contents and activities within space. Mobility within space will be explored in three aspects in this historical street. Firstly, the change of consumer culture, from the changes in consumption patterns and where people shop will reveal the change of urban life and the transposition of city development. Secondly, the physical mobility of people, as they use shops and arcades, shows how social structures and economic forces interact within space. Then, there are social events. Here religious, political and commercial activities represent the rhythms of urban movement which in turn influence the formation of streetscape.

#### 3.4-1 Changes in Consumer Culture

According to Michael Sobel's argument, consumer behaviour is the best index of lifestyle because it reflects social relationships and reveals changes in everyday life.<sup>83</sup> The observation of consumer behaviour reveals this mobility within space through the goods consumed, the way people shop and where people shop.

Regarding the goods consumed on this street, they are limited types of commodities, such as: Chinese herbal medicine, traditional foods, and fabric. These non-fashion commodities demonstrate both the economic decline of this street and the change of life style in modern society. The streetscape of Ti-Hua Street remains static as its economy declines, which is in obvious contrast to the fast-growing East District where fashion shops and company headquarters are located within a constantly changing streetscape. These different types of commodities in different areas reveal the regional development and the change of lifestyle.

Ti-Hua Street had a glorious business period in the past because of its convenient location for transport, production and trading. The harbour transported the heavy weight commodities such as rice, tea and other domestic products which benefited these shops. The growth, prosperity, and subsequent decline and revival of these

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83 Michael E. Sobel, *Lifestyle and Social Structure- Concept, Definitions, Analyses*, (New York: Academic Press, 1981), p. ix.

shops show a close relationship between social and economic history. Thus, the changes in patterns of consumption here resemble Lefebvre's concept of analysis of everyday urban life.<sup>84</sup> Therefore, the “authenticity” of Ti-Hua Street can be read and signified through the change of consumer culture revealing the influence of authority, empowerment and consequent resistance from various social factors.

Secondly, the change to a consumer culture necessarily affects the way people shop. A social relationship on a commercial street is directly observed through consumption behaviour. The intimate commercial atmosphere on Ti-Hua Street represents the social life that we associate with traditional culture, religious activities and intense spatial use. For example, this constricted space encourages social dialogue talks, body contact, sensual experience, and community consciousness. (Fig. 49)



Fig. 49. An intimate atmosphere is formed on Ti-Hua Street through social interactions. (Photo by author, 2001)

Those neighbours who have lived here for a long time may chat with the shop owners at the off-peak time. Sometimes shopkeepers look after their neighbours' shops if their staffs are away for a short time. Customers wander around the arcade looking, tasting, comparing and bargaining for the displayed products. This would be uncommon in a modern shopping street. This close relationship between shop owners, customers and neighbours epitomises the contrast between the historical

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84 Soja, *Thirdspace*, p. 311.

street and modern streets. Mobility within the historical street is characterised by social relations rather than that of speed in the modern street.

The change towards consumer culture also determines where people shop. For example, people take less effort and time to prepare traditional food and celebrations due to their busy urban life. They prefer to shop at nearby 24-hour supermarkets for their convenience. These changes account for the decline of businesses in Ti-Hua Street and these shops nowadays mainly rely on profits from wholesale and rental sale at the various festivals. In contrast, the development of the city was in an expansion towards the eastside and created the modern commercial centre of Taipei there. This transposition of the city-centre reveals the mobility within space which caused by the decline of the old economic centre, Tataocheng, the changes of the commodities in shops, and the conflict between urban renewal and historical preservation.

Nevertheless, an emerging concept of cultural consumption, focused on the mass media, cultural programmes and festival events, has brought new changes in commercial activities. It emphasizes Ti-Hua Street as a living commercial centre with historical and cultural character, which attracts tourists as well as local consumers. This results in an instant increase, yet seasonal mobility in this street. Mobility within space is represented in these changes of consumer culture and reveals the street as a “space of flows” as Castells states, which are flows of capital, labour, and elements of productions, commodities, information and signals.

### **3.4-2 The Use of Shop Space and Arcades**

Mobility within space on Ti-Hua Street can be observed in the use of shop space and arcades showing how the social structure and economic forces affect spatial use in two areas: 1. The use of traditional housing attached to a street shop, and 2. The use of arcade space. The movements of people within and outside these spaces might be said to reveal an authentic social interaction.

1. The use of traditional attached housing with a street shop:

The spatial arrangement of such buildings elaborates a structured relation of social classes and determines movement. For example, the spatial use of Chyan-Yuan-Heng Chinese herbal medicine shop demonstrates a close relationship between domestic life of residences and working practices, including storing, production and retail. (Fig. 50)

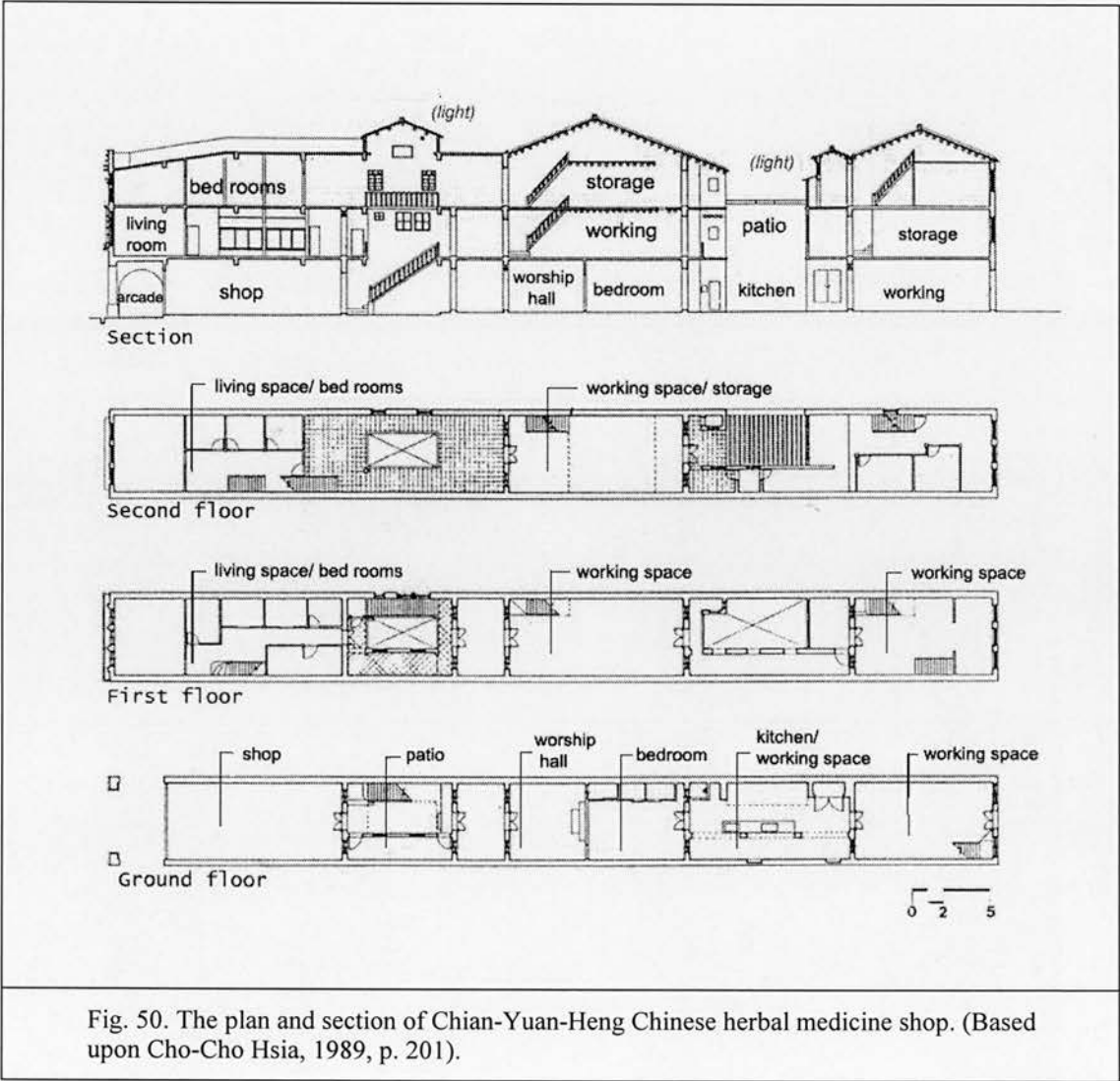


Fig. 50. The plan and section of Chian-Yuan-Heng Chinese herbal medicine shop. (Based upon Cho-Cho Hsia, 1989, p. 201).

The plan of this three-story house is divided into three parts. In the first part, i.e. the ground floor is the shop. On the first and second floors is the accommodation of the shop owner, and a patio links this to the sales counter. In the second part, the ground floor is the worship hall with sleeping space for apprentices at the back. Another patio is used as a kitchen and for preparing medicine. In addition, medicine is also



prepare and stored on the ground and first floors of the third part, and the first floor of the second part. (Fig. 51)

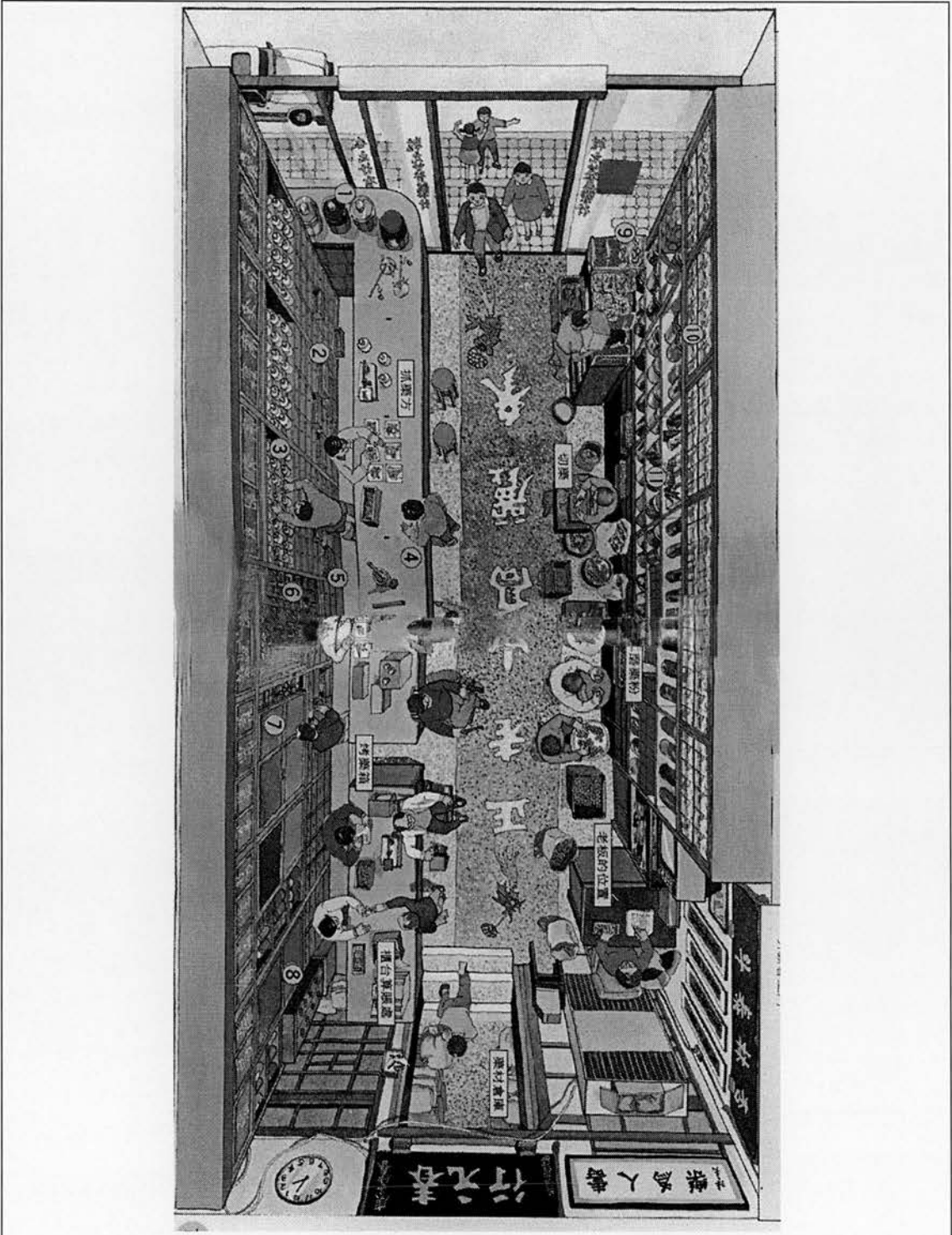


Fig. 51 Sketch of the interior space of Chieh-Yuan-Heng showing the arrangement and use of the shop. (Chan-Peng Chuang, 1997, pp. 118-119)

This plan fulfils the functions of this shop, including retail, accommodation and production. It helps to sustain the family business, having long opening hours. It also supports the system of production and sales in one place, and the training of apprentices. The young apprentices are required to take care of business and help with the housework of the shop. This social hierarchy, built on the traditional values of teacher-apprentice, and master-servant relationships, is mirrored in the process involving production in a dark space and selling on the bright counter.<sup>85</sup> (Fig. 52) Such movement within space involves sensual experience, social status and memory of place. It demonstrates a special type of work force based on traditional social structure.

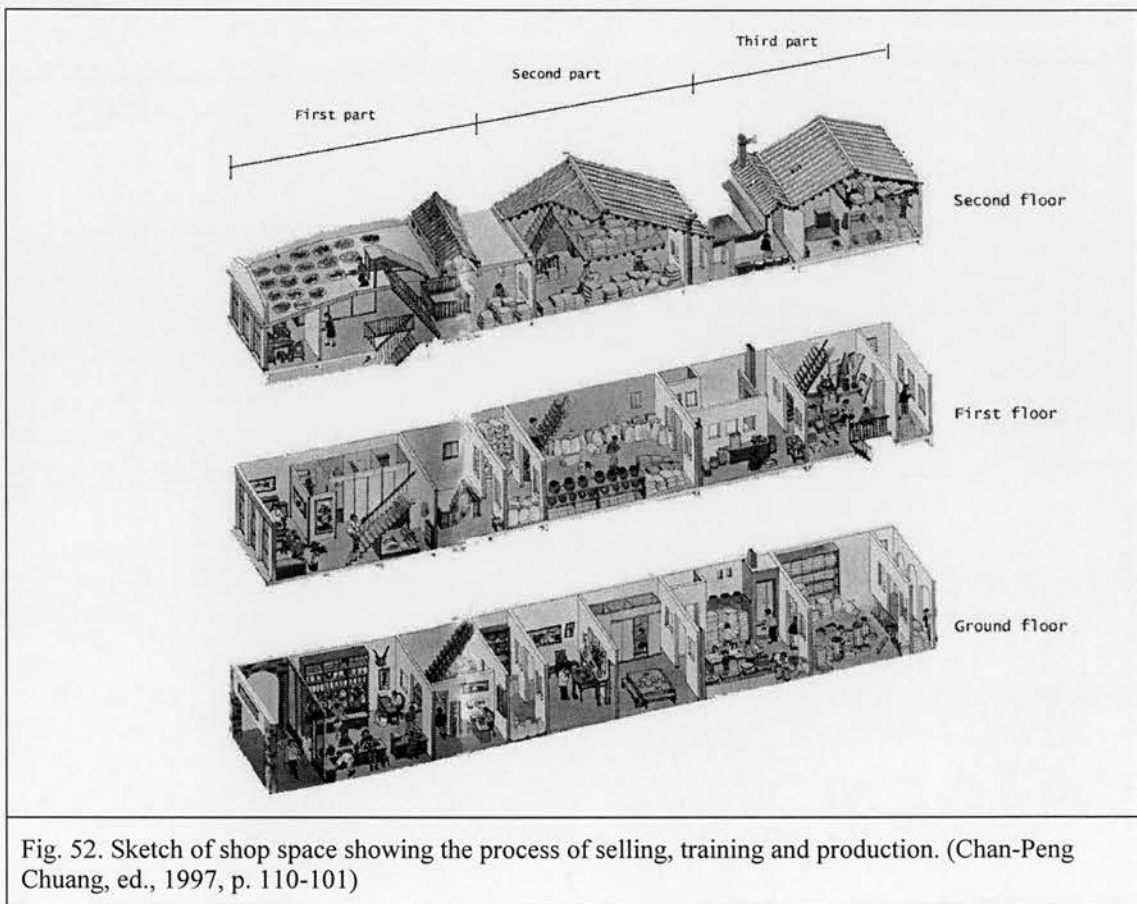


Fig. 52. Sketch of shop space showing the process of selling, training and production. (Chan-Peng Chuang, ed., 1997, p. 110-101)

In addition, the patios in these shops that bring light and air into the long and narrow interior space also play an important role for social life. For example, in the plan of the Chyan-Yuan-Heng Chinese herbal medicine shop, a patio is used as an extended

<sup>85</sup> Chung-Hsien Yen, *An Analysis*, p. 119.

kitchen. Family and employees gather here for dinner and rest breaks. Such patios were particularly popular for women and children from the earliest time until the Japanese Occupation, as they were not encouraged to go outside. This limited mobility of women in society is vividly described in an interview with local women by Hui-Wen Cheng,

“She (Mrs. Chiang) brings her son to the patio every day. She sits on a low chair, breast-feeding. Occasionally she chats with neighbours. She looks after her eight children, breast-feeding them by herself. She does not involve herself with the outside world. It seems avoiding starvation is her only concern.”<sup>86</sup>

## 2. The use of arcade space:

Historically, the design of arcade space was regulated by the Taiwanese Housing Regulation of 1900.<sup>87</sup> This regulation defined the typical form of combined shop and residence which formulated the major part of the cityscape.<sup>88</sup> These arcades protect people from the subtropical weather and provide a buffer zone between indoors and outdoors. The use of arcade space can be traced to the Ching dynasty when businesses used it for processing tea in the high season. This use arose because arcade space was bright and dry, and also because shops did not have enough space inside for this periodic use.<sup>89</sup> The use of arcade space continues but it has changed from a working space to a display space because the present commodities, Chinese herbal medicine and preserved food, do not need to be processed in the same way as tea. The arcade functions as a bazaar which satisfies people's desires to see an assortment of goods in a continuous public space with its cheerful and informal

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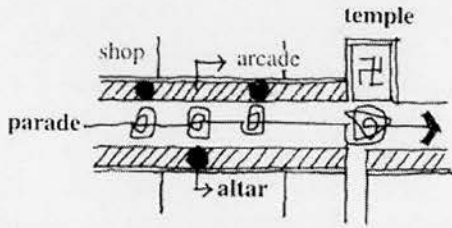

<sup>86</sup>Mrs Chiang is around 90 years old. She lived in Ti-Hua Street for decades after she married. Her husband runs a family business selling dried food and spice. Hui-Wen Cheng, *The Tataocheng Map*, pp. 62 & 166.

<sup>87</sup> The present arcade of Ti-Hua Street was built in the mass reconstruction of Tataocheng area between 1913-1914. This reconstruction was regulated in detail covering building materials such as bricks or concrete, instead of earthen wall, and with the requirement to construct an arcade. Chung-Hsien Yen, *An Analysis*, p. 92.

<sup>88</sup> Shih-Meng Huang, "The Western Planning Theories Applied In Taiwan," *Modern Science and Technology Conference Collected Papers*, (Urban Planning Group, Tung-Hai University, Taichung, 1989), p. 69.

<sup>89</sup> This traditional style of Taiwanese commercial house was long and narrow with the front often serving as a shop and the back as a residence. It does not have much natural light within.

ethnic display. These arcades while serving as an expandable space for production, business, and leisure also accommodate religious activities as shopkeepers also use the arcade to worship Gods during festival time as well as during the other regular monthly worship of various gods. (Fig. 53) During worship, altars with various sacrificial offerings from each shop are placed in the arcade. The display space becomes a space for holy worship through the people's activities. (Fig. 54)

	
<p>Fig. 53. Diagram showing the arcade used to worship gods. (Redrawn from Chu-Cho Hsia, 1989, p. 113).</p>	<p>Fig. 54. The street and arcade used for worship during the festival time. (Yu-Min Chuang, The Old Taipei, 1996, p. 90).</p>

People enjoy shopping, looking, talking and walking within these the arcades because of this flexible spatial use. However, this ambiguous boundary between public and private space has long been a problem for urban planning. Nowadays, an agreement between shops and the local planning authority has regulated the extension of display stands and the width of passage to ameliorate the conflicts between commercial use and user mobility. The power of authority forms the original space but the users create a real lived space, which is a social space.

### 3.4-3 Social Events

August Heckscher has pointed out the social character of place which gives people a sense of belonging.

“What the individual requires ... is not a plot of ground but a *place*- a context within which he can expand and become himself. A place in this sense cannot be bought; it must be shaped, usually over long periods of



time, by the common affairs of men and women. It must be given scale and meaning by their love. And then it must be preserved.”<sup>90</sup>

In support of Heckscher's social perspective, the authenticity of Ti-Hua Street is not reducible to history or spatial science. It consists of a lived space where social events occur in a space dominated by the power of authority on the one hand, and empowerment and resistance from the public on the other.<sup>91</sup> Ti-Hua Street reveals social mobility through events that we associate with religious activities, commercial activities, and public participation.

Regarding the religious activities, the power of religion has played an important role in the formulation of Ti-Hua Street and has great influence in inhabitants' everyday lives and economic activities. Firstly, Hsiahai Chenghuang Temple was built on this street as a religious and social centre of early immigrants during the Ching Dynasty, and has since been one of the most popular temples in Taipei. It is currently listed as a cultural conservation asset. Its annual festival attracts enormous numbers of pilgrims and tourists and thereby stimulates the local business. This religious event was used for commercial advertisements and political purposes during the Japanese Occupation.<sup>92</sup> Its influence on mobility and business was explained in 3.2-2 Customs and Religious Events, which discussed the dramatic increase of pedestrians and business profits during the 1913 festival.<sup>93</sup> Such religious activities also encouraged women's mobility during the Japanese Occupation. During to the festival, they could temporarily leave their housework to visit relatives and close friends, and to watch street performances.<sup>94</sup> However, its elaborate celebrations had been opposed by elite groups, such as: the 'Taiwanese Culture Association' and 'Taipei Reformer

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90 August Heckscher, cited in Edward Relph, *Places and Placelessness*, (London: Pion, 1976), p. 181.

91 Ti-Hua Street represents the characteristic of the urban setting described by Soja: “a lived space of radical openness and unlimited scope, where all histories and geographies, all times and places, are immanently presented and represented, a strategic space of power and domination, empowerment and resistance.” Soja, *Thirdspace*, p. 311.

92 Hua-Fan University (Department of Architecture), *Survey and Restoration*, p. 60

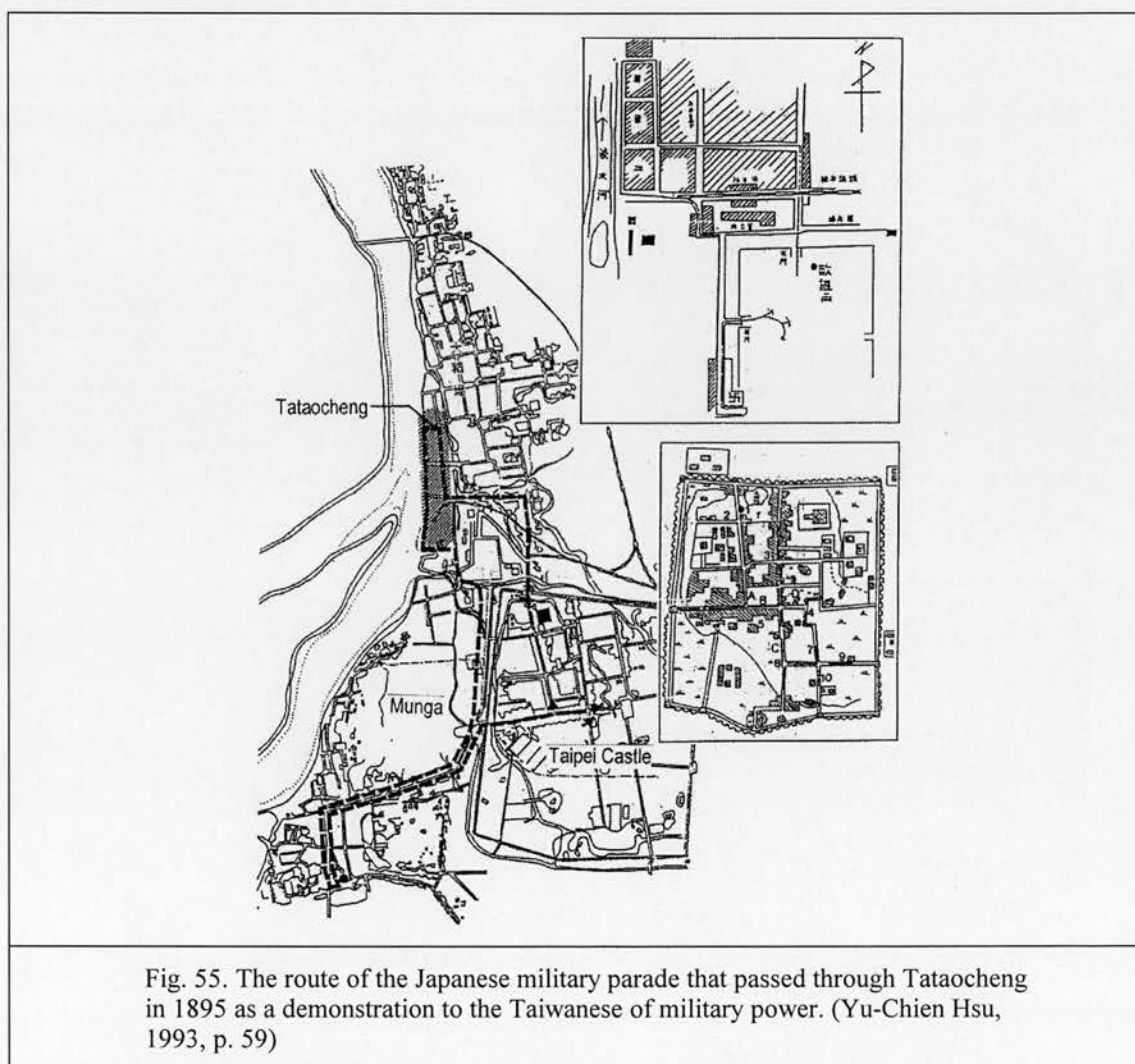
93 For a detailed discussion of this matter see p. 125 above.

94 Hui-Wen Cheng, *The Tataocheng Map*, p. 161.



Association', and as a result, its scale decreased between 1928 and 1931.<sup>95</sup> Nevertheless, its sacredness never fades away in pilgrims' belief.

A special sort of mobility within space in Ti-Hua Street arose from the political demonstration of the Japanese colonial government. The military parade of the Japanese in 1895 particularly marked Tataocheng as an important area because it was the economic and cultural centre of Taiwan.<sup>96</sup> (Fig. 55) This parade aimed to demonstrate the military power of the colonial government and enhanced the political importance of Taipei Castle.<sup>97</sup>



95 Hua-Fan University (Department of Architecture), *The Survey and Restoration*, p. 63.

96 Document Collection of Viceroy office, 1895, Vol. 20, Sec. 7, cited in Yu-Chien Hsu, *The Cultural Transformation*, p. 58.

97 The parade started and finished in Taipei Castle. It particularly pointed out Tataocheng as a focus on the route because its importance as a Taiwanese centre. Yu-Chien Hsu, *The Cultural Transformation*, pp. 58-60.

Commercial activities have an obvious influence on the mobility within this street. For example, in order to increase commerce value, this street is used as a temporary pedestrian zone to accommodate shopping crowds and thus extends their mobility during the period of the New Year Shopping Street, since 1996. The space of shop, arcade and street are packed with shopping crowds. Although this extended mobility is a creation of commercial and political institutions, it does bring back people as well as enhancing the sense of history of Ti-Hua Street. Other traditional festivals are celebrated with particular types of traditional food and herbal ingredients which also attract large numbers of customers.<sup>98</sup>

In addition, public participation in conservation policy has another effect that determines the mobility within space. For example, the desire for mobility is one of the major reasons causing the differing progress for the redevelopment in the city because the narrow street pattern of Ti-Hua Street, which causes difficulty for traffic, limits business development. Therefore, the extension of Ti-Hua Street was a popular idea among shop owners for economic promotion and improved mobility on this street. However, people concerned about the historical value of this street arrange walking tours to emphasise its cultural value. Public participation has worked towards preserving Ti-Hua Street from demolition by raising public concern in the media. These public debates evoke historical value and the memory for this street. As a result of this public concern, the government designated this street a conservation area in 1988. Public participation has thus been a powerful tool influencing the mobility within Ti-Hua Street because the conservation plan retains the existing street pattern at 7.8 metres width, rather than the road of 20 metres in the redevelopment plan.

Thus Ti-Hua Street concretises the social relations involved in the formation of space. The debate of urban preservation on this street shows the conflicts of politics, economy and memory in the formation of space. Moreover, social movements, such

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<sup>98</sup> For example, people come for the ingredients of traditional food for the Dragon Boat Festival and Moon Festival.

as civic participation, have emerged to revive the life of the declining street. This mobilization of society constructs the social identity that links people to places.

## Conclusion

The growth, prosperity, decline and revival of the shops on Ti-Hua Street are linked to a spatial conception of history and society, and they represent varying degrees of “authenticity.” As Kevin Lynch suggested, “choosing a past help us to construct a future.”<sup>99</sup> The business of selling traditional food, participation in active religious events, and the close relationship among shop owners, customers and neighbours on this street were once applauded as a proud survival of native culture under colonial oppression. These activities are now considered an antidote to the urban alienation which is characteristic of modern urban space. The old lifestyle and consumption habits are echoed in the inhabitants' lives today, even though they have been inevitably influenced by the persuasiveness of marketing.

In this chapter, I have used the example of Ti-Hua Street to identify “authenticity” in Taipei from four strategies of reading cityscape: the history of development, the memory of place, visual simulation, and mobility within space. Further observation has shown that the concepts of “authenticity” are the result of political ideology, the collision of local and Western culture, and the flexible attitude of the migrants. This validates Lefebvre and Soja's ideas about social space that I described in Chapter One.<sup>100</sup> “Authenticity” is comprehensively examined by its social space, both perceived, and conceived, as being conditioned by the historical, social, and spatial contexts. But, one must be aware of the innate conflict between urban preservation and the capitalisation of culture. I believe that this concept helps us to identify what is worth preserving and to understand the relevant constituent parts of the built environment.

Similarly, this may be hypothetically applied to explore visions of the future cityscape that will eventually help us to construct an “authentic” cityscape. Possibly, the result of this research can answer Soja's question:

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<sup>99</sup> Kevin Lynch, *The City*, p. 226.

<sup>100</sup> See pp. 40-44 above.

"Whose history is to be preserved in these design for commemoration? In what places is this heritage most appropriately encased? What forms shall the memories take? How can choosing a past to preserve help us to construct a better future? Does choosing sites also mean choosing sides? Through preserving urban history, can we improve our understanding of the current geography and political economy of the city- and work better to change it in significantly beneficial ways? By redesigning the built environment can we, must we, reinterpret the past and not take it for granted?"<sup>101</sup>

What I provide here, a framework of urban observation, aims to identify "authenticity" from the commonly misleading representation of historical simulation. While contemporary market forces are enthusiastic about exploiting the historical form of the street to create a sense of continuity in cityscape, a deeper understandings of the politics, economies and development of a historical street will help us to avoid the threat to "authenticity" caused by overt global commercialisation.

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101 Soja, *Thirdspace*, p. 191.



## Chapter Four

### Sensing Movement- a reading of streetscape in Chung-Hsiao East Road

#### Introduction: From Place to Non-Place and the Possibility of Authenticity

Viewing the East District from the aerial photo, the dense building blocks spread across most of the land, the skyscrapers rise along the Chung-Hsiao East Road, Jen-Ai Road and other major roads. It is like a sea of buildings, which sinks down into a few tiny green spots, such as: Ti-Hao Park, Jen-Ai roundabout, and some avenues of trees. One is overwhelmed by the gigantic mass of buildings, which shimmer in the heat haze. (Fig. 1)



Fig. 1. Aerial photo of Chung-Hsiao East Road and East District. (MDA, 1995)

On first impression, Chung-Hsiao East Road is to Taipei as Fifth Avenue is to New York City, with luxurious department stores, offices of international companies and expensive apartments. It represents the rootless landscape of modernization in Ta-Huang Wang's novel, *Tu Lien-Kuei*, which emphasized the uneven development of the city contrasting the modern East District with the old West District during the 1970s.<sup>1</sup> Although fiction, it describes the development of this street as the struggle

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<sup>1</sup> Ta-Huang Wang, *Tu Lien-Kui*, 1977.

between nostalgia and capitalized urban life under advanced capitalism and it raises the issue of “authenticity.”

The second urban observation is focused on modern Chung-Hsiao East Road. The condition of “authenticity” here is examined through consideration of social perspectives of the history of development, memory of place, visual simulation and mobility within space. This observation investigates how changes within society are reflected in the cityscape. Chung-Hsiao East Road represents these social changes in its streetscape as “a theatre of social action,” embodying a sense of “moment” in the fascinating and ever-changing streetscape. This reveals a possible dimension of “authenticity” in the contemporary cityscape.

The modern streetscape of Chung-Hsiao East Road has succumbed to the stereotype of Western cities in terms of its planning, street pattern, and architecture. It has become a non-place due to the characterless and unified commercial culture which has dominated the production of its urban space. This streetscape, apparently so “inauthentic,” is actually the genuine result of contemporary economic, social and cultural forces. This simulation of both western culture and local history creates the possibility of “authenticity” as a result of the decline of the real and the rise of nostalgia.<sup>2</sup> This reflects Baudrillard’s assertion that many apparently “authentic” features are only expressions of “myths of origin,” or “signs of reality.”

This situation is clearly demonstrated in the development of Chung-Hsiao East Road. Here, there is no clear boundary between “authenticity” and “inauthenticity,” as everything can be created for the mood of nostalgia or business. The reference might only depend upon the context of streetscape, which we have developed based upon the condition of authenticity and social space. Chung-Hsiao East Road asserts its “authenticity” with a simulation of traditional streetscape, creating that familiar bodily experience. But this time it is a social reflection of local politics and global

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<sup>2</sup> Jean Baudrillard, “Simulacra and Simulations,” in ed., Mark Poster, *Jean Baudrillard*, p. 174. For detail see pp. 13-14 above.

influence. It is sensuously authentic, since it is inseparable from the movement and the living experience of its inhabitants.

Authenticity in the modern street, as well as in the old street, is revealed in the changes in its form and content through the framework of urban observation. Social, political, and economic changes resulting from the process of Westernisation are reflected in the spatial structures of commercial streets and in the lifestyle of their inhabitants. The relationship between people and place is evident in the spatial formation of this streetscape and reveals the transformation of a rapidly expanding Asian metropolis. Lefebvre's concept of social space is acutely pertinent in this instance because social consciousness affects our judgment of the way in which we see and construct our streets according to various social values and personal experiences.<sup>3</sup>

In Chung-Hsiao East Road, we will see a sense of authenticity revealed as a reflection of Taiwanese modernity<sup>4</sup> through the framework of urban observation.

#### 1. The history of the development:

The history of Chung-Hsiao East Road explores how the cityscape reflects the impact of modernity and capitalism as a sort of politics of space impacting upon its spatial form and the lifestyle of its inhabitants. It shows how politics and market forces have caused the transposition of the city centre from the west to the East District. This transposition of the city core has resulted in the modernization of architecture and the transformation of the use of space. But while changes in urban form and public space have altered the way in which space is used, political transformation has altered social behaviour too. This in itself reflects the mixed-use zoning and privatisation of

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3 Lefebvre states, "Every social space is the outcome of a process with many aspects and many contributing currents, signifying and non-signifying, perceived and direct experienced, practical and theoretical." Henri Lefebvre, *The Production*, p. 11.

4 The Taiwanese modernity can be explored as a particular mode of lived experience within modern Taipei which is the resulting social and institutional condition, marked by urbanization and bureaucratisation. Based upon David Frisby's definition of modernity: "Modernity is thus a particular mode of lived experience within modern society, one that is reduced not merely to our inner responses to it but also to its incorporation in our inner life." David Frisby, *Fragments of Modernity*, (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1985), p. 46.

public space.<sup>5</sup> The unsettled attitude of political and economic immigrants created a type of informal landscape that went against the rules imposed by authority. Its result confirms that the production of urban space is the product of authority, but compromised by social relations.

## 2. The memory of place:

The area around Chung-Hsiao East Road seems a place without memory because historical roots can hardly be recognized after the drastic changes caused by economic development. The form, content and use of shops have changed as a result of this development. The transformation of shops triggers memory of what is lost, which invented traditions attempt to compensate for. This transformation is revealed in the changes of lifestyle, shopping habits and body experiences. Nowadays, only the street arcade, which takes the symbolic form of traditional shops, represents a sense of continuity, presenting itself as a city tableau in memory of the public sphere.<sup>6</sup> In addition, the products and merchandise in the shops tell us about the cultural life of different social groups. As people negotiate for either daily essentials or festive specialties, their transactions create a sense of seasons. These activities help to guard against urban schizophrenia, as they make time visible and create collective memory. They make the sense of place recognizable by the retention of memory of place.

## 3. The visual simulation:

The streetscape of this road is dominated by the visual simulation of commerce, teeming with symbols of market forces. This greatly affects its property values and media image, and space becomes a product which can be exchanged, bought and sold, and often becomes homogenous and perpetually reproducible for the market. Nevertheless, the repetition of signs concretises the power of consumption that represents the changing social relations of production, reproduction, exploitation,

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5 Privatised public space means public space produced through private investment.

6 Christine Boyer suggests understanding the society and city form by linking "site together or relate them to the layers of history and people" through public sphere. Here street arcade shows these historical and public characteristics. M. Christine Boyer, *The City*, p. 11.



domination and exchange in contemporary cities.<sup>7</sup> In addition, the rapid changes of shop contents, and architectural façades show the power of commerce in constructing the heterotopological image by simulation. The image of city is dominated by the symbols of mass consumption.

#### 4. Mobility within space:

Mobility within space, in the changing streetscape and transformed society, has three visible manifestations in this road. Firstly there are the commercial relationships. Then there is physical mobility. Thirdly, there is social mobility. These phenomena are reflected in the changes of shop contents, the façades and the interior of the shops, pedestrian movement, and civic participation in street events. Political and social movements have markedly promoted this mobility in space since the liberalization of the media in 1987.<sup>8</sup> These reflect the social struggle, incorporating body liberation, and political emancipation, which have influenced policy making and urban life and increased social mobility within space.

This street with its emphasis on modern consumption, international business, and intensive development illustrates the complex interactions between the users and the political, economical, and social factors. As before using this formula of urban observation, I ask: 1) How have the content and the form of this street been transformed through modern development? 2) How do different powers come to dominance and interact with social relations within the streetscape? 3) How does the urban consciousness of society present itself in the spatial form of a contemporary city?

This chapter aims to discuss this changing relationship between urban space and its users. It explores how Taiwanese people interact, construct and maintain their living space while adopting a western pattern of consumption and how modernity and technical bureaucratic planning intrude into their lives. Therefore, in the search for

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7 Soja calls “symbolic” space that which is “filled with politics and ideology within the real and imaged space.” Soja, *Thirdspace*, p. 68.

8 The emancipation of politics was the result of the political openness of the government in 1987 which allowed freedom of speech and uncensored media.



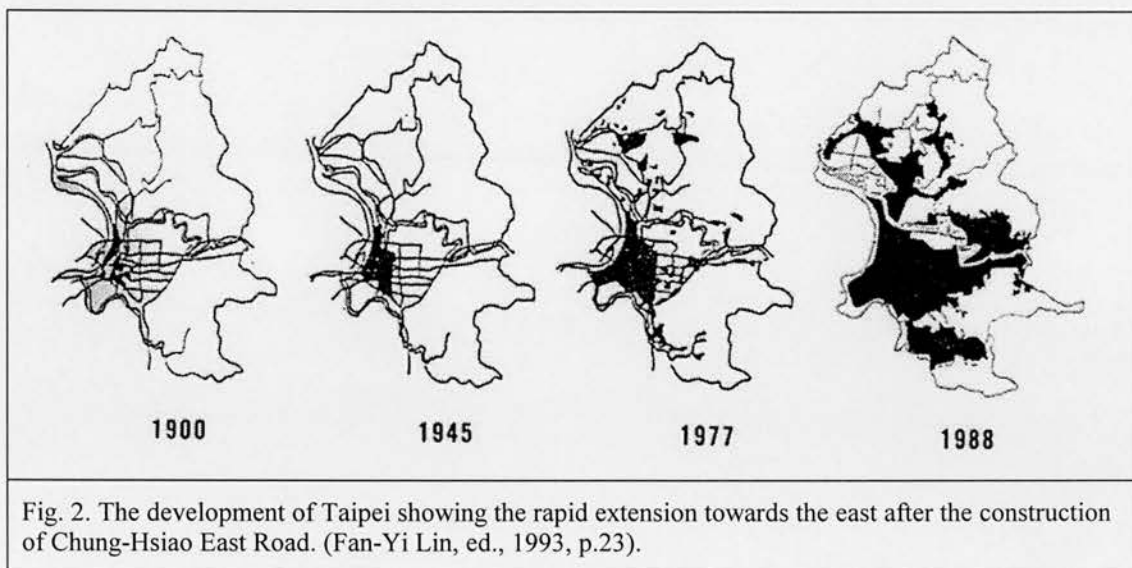
“authenticity” in the cityscape, this modern street is analysed by examining its dynamic spatial-human relationship through social space and bodily experience. Chung-Hsiao East Road is shown to be an outcome of people’s actions that represents a sort of “authenticity” through body experience and social interactions.

The observation of Chang-Hsiao East Road argues that the simulation of the West, and of local history, which appears in Taipei’s cityscape, is a social reflection of a mixed local culture and global impacts reacting with the inhabitants’ body experience. It represents certain levels of “authenticity,” even though the physical form results from the proliferation of myths of metropolis. Here origin, reality, and simulation are inseparable from the movement and lived experience of the inhabitants.

## 4.1 The History of Development

### 4.1-1 The Transposition of the City Centre

Historically, Chung-Hsiao East Road was firstly proposed in the Taipei City Plan of 1932 by the Japanese colonial government.<sup>9</sup> The road system, park provision and regulated land use of this plan indicates the tendency to develop the eastern side of Taipei.<sup>10</sup> The development of the East District quickly progressed after Chung-Hsiao East Road was built (1973-1979) because this road enhanced the commercial potential and accelerated regional development. (Fig. 2)



This road is the major connection between the west and east of the city. It extends, with a diversity of shops, for twelve kilometres and is divided into five sections. Section Four, between Fu-Hsing South Road and Kuang-Fu South Road, is the most prosperous and diverse part of this road and thus is the focus of the following observation. (Fig. 3)

9 Chung-Hsiao East Road was called Chung-Cheng East Road on the Taipei City Plan of 1932. Most of the new roads and parks were planned on the east side of Hsin-Sheng North and South Roads. Hsu-Cheng Tseng, *The Urbanisation*, pp. 44-45.

10 The development of Taipei gradually extended to the east after eight new roads were constructed during 1955-1967. These new roads were built with the technical and financial support of the USA from 1955 to 1967, *Ibid.*, pp. 70-76.

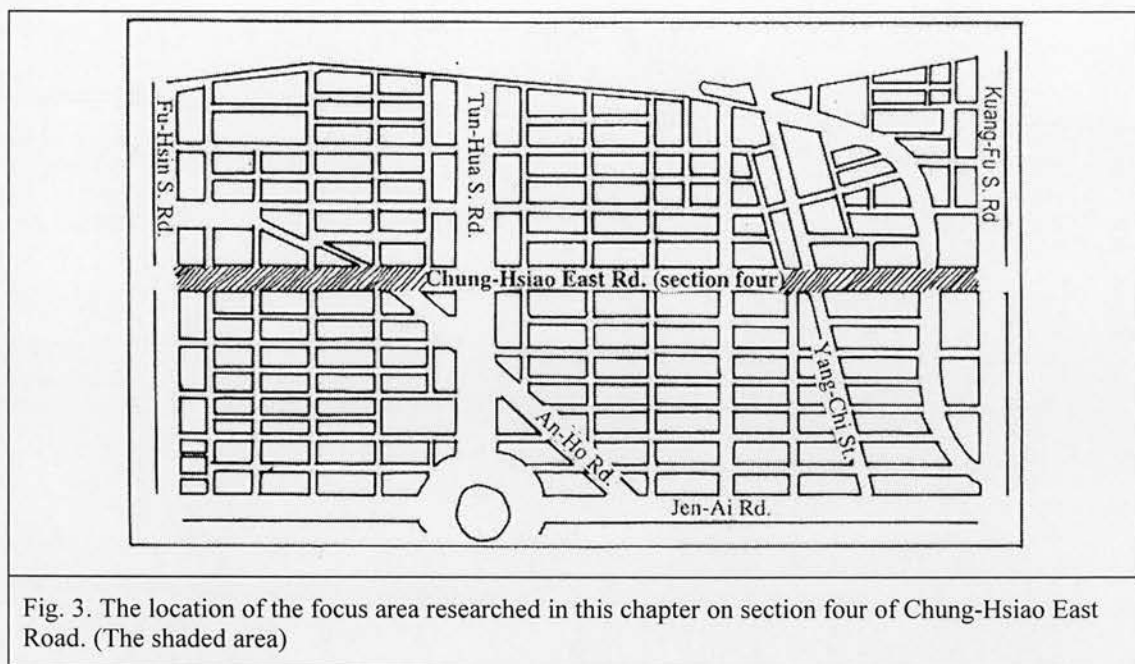


Fig. 3. The location of the focus area researched in this chapter on section four of Chung-Hsiao East Road. (The shaded area)

In Chung-Hsiao East Road, the production of space is determined by the real estate market and by political agendas, and these factors have resulted in the transposition of the city centre, and the structure and use of its public space.

The transposition of Taipei city centre from the Tamsui riverside to Chung-Hsiao East Road has been driven by economic development and social change.<sup>11</sup> Its development history indicates that the transformation of cityscape has been formulated by the rapid economic growth after the 1970s. This transformed former agricultural land into a densely developed business district with a Westernised streetscape.<sup>12</sup> This spatial structure is formulated by:

1) The rapid economic growth since the 1970s:

The development of this area was only dotted around the new roads in a small scale in the 1970s.<sup>13</sup> Due to the extension of Chung-Hsiao East Road with Section Four

11 Chung-Hsiao East Road was built in 1973 prompting the development of the East District. Thus, Taipei has been developed intensively toward the east side of the Taipei basin since 1970s. Chien-Jung Lin, *Urban Design*, p. 60.

12 The area of East District was mainly farmland before 1961 while Hsi-Men District continues the prosperous development from Taipei City and Tataocheng since 1897. The major business centre of the city was transferred from Hsi-Men District to East District after the construction of Chung-Hsiao East Road (1972-1979). Chun-Che Chu, "The Past and Future of Taipei", *United News*, 15 June 1999.

13 Tsung-Te Teng, *The Formation*, p. 27.

and Five in 1973, the business potential of the East District was enhanced. The development received a boost in 1984 when the government opened the protected market to international companies.<sup>14</sup> The rapid commercial and building development of the East District represents the transition of the economic system of Taiwan from a local capital market to the global production system. The most obvious spatial result was the increasing number of office buildings belonging to international companies and banks. Unsurprisingly, 60% of American companies in Taipei are located in the East District.<sup>15</sup>

In addition, according to a survey for the location of the headquarters of the top 500 enterprises in Taiwan, there are 238 head offices of the manufacturing industry in Taipei and most of them are located on the major roads of East District.<sup>16</sup> These figures explain why the streetscape of Chung-Hsiao-East Road has been developed with international corporate architecture.<sup>17</sup> (Fig. 4-5) These buildings are promoted by private enterprise as a symbol of the modernized city.

Market forces have created the streetscape of this gentrified business centre, with banking, international trading and fashion shops.<sup>18</sup> Firstly, the real estate market promotes the construction of high-rise buildings for the most profitable exploitation of land, and these become the dominant architectural form.<sup>19</sup> Private enterprise invests in such buildings to take advantage of the increasing migration from the countryside in response to the booming economy in the 1970s.<sup>20</sup> (Fig. 6)

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14 Ibid., pp. 40-41.

15 The data is from a survey of American companies in Taiwan between 1988-1989. Ibid., pp. 41-42.

16 Hsu-Cheng Tseng, *The Urbanisation*, p. 118.

17 For example, there are international style buildings, such as the eleven-storey An-Le building (1965), twelve-storey Hsiang-Pin building (1968), and eleven-storey Ai-Chiung building (1970) here. Chien- Jung Lin, *Urban Design*, p. 60.

18 Tsung-Te Teng, *The Formation*, p. 50.

19 The expensive prices of real estates in Chung-Hsiao East Road point out the popularity and commercial value of this area as it becomes the central business district. In 1988, the land price around this road was the second highest in Taipei after the land around the Taipei Train Station. Hui-Ting Cheng, *A Study of Business Types and Open Space in the Section Four of Chung-Hsiao East Road in Taipei*, (Master thesis, Tamkang University, Taipei, 1988), pp. 3-6 & 3-8.

20 According to Hsu-Cheng Tseng, the increasing migration between 1963 and 1972 is the largest number of growing population. They are attracted by the growing economy and job opportunities in Taipei. Hsu-Cheng Tseng, *The Urbanisation*, p. 12.



Fig. 4. International-style buildings and offices dominate the streetscape. (Photo by author, 2000)



Fig. 5 International corporations cooperate on this road, e.g. Sogo Department Store which cooperates with a Japanese department store. (Photo by Ming-Kang Liang, 2001)

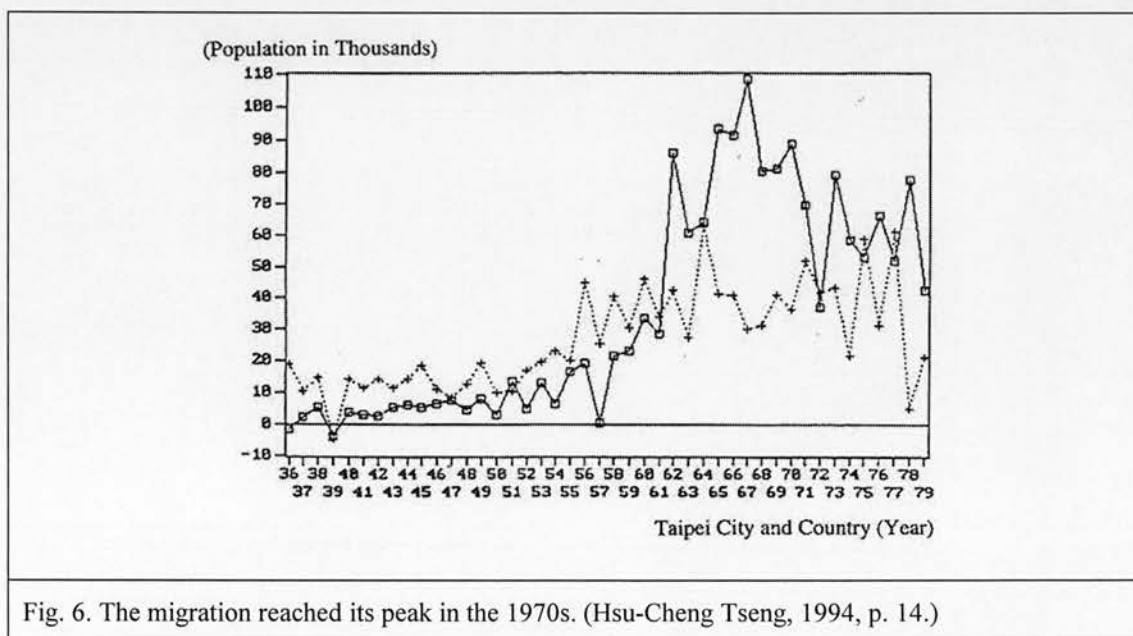


Fig. 6. The migration reached its peak in the 1970s. (Hsu-Cheng Tseng, 1994, p. 14.)

Due to the high value of the land and the concentration of business, these buildings are used for local and international companies as well as housing, which leads to the characteristic mixed-use buildings in Taipei. An-Le Building is a good example to



illustrate the mixed use of buildings in this area. (Fig. 7) The ground floor is used for shops, and the upper floors are either small business offices or apartments. This mixed-use of buildings results in an active street life and longer opening hours but it also brings difficulties in terms of the use and management of the space. Space originally designed for housing is now used for small business and façades are covered by advertising billboards. This results in visual confusion and the impression of a fragmented streetscape.



Fig. 7. The façade of An-Le Building showing the mixed use of business and housing. (Photo by author, 2000)

Secondly, the international trading market brings global trademarks and fashion shops, which transform the buildings into ‘decorated sheds.’<sup>21</sup> For example, the façade of ATT’s flagship department store is covered by a two floor-high white sign of ATT and McDonalds, while its true façade is only exposed above the third floor. (Fig. 8) This signage of commerce dominates and homogenizes the streetscape. These ‘decorated sheds’ create a sense of contingency and a temporary feel because the façades change with the seasons just like the fashions in the shops.

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21 “Decorated sheds” are used by Robert Venturi to describe the iconic and symbolic decorations of the buildings. Robert Venturi, Denise Scott Brown, and Steven Izenour, *Learning from Las Vegas*, (Cambridge & London: MIT Press, 1998), p. 87-92.



Fig. 8. The façade of the building is covered by the commercial signage turning it into a “decorated shed.” (Photo by author, 2000)

## 2) The influence of city plans:

The Taipei City Plan of 1932 shows the intention of the Japanese government to move the city centre toward the east and restrict the development of the Taiwanese business centre in Tataocheng.<sup>22</sup> (Fig. 9) In this plan, the street system was extended toward the eastern side of the city, the major parks and green space system were located on the northern side of the old Taipei city, and the zoning plan encouraged business development on the new developed eastern area.

This plan was carried out by the KMT government and modified as the first Taipei City Plan in 1957, and later as the Taipei Structure Plan in 1968.<sup>23</sup> (Fig. 10) The major change between the plans of Japanese era and KMT government was the reduction of parks and green avenues, and the replacement of some of the industrial zones with residential zones, such as the area in Chung-Hsiao East Road.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>22</sup> Hsu-Cheng Tseng, *The Urbanisation*, p. 45.

<sup>23</sup> Taipei Structure Plan (1968) was planned by the Urban and Housing Development Committee with the consultants of the United Nation Development Program. Ibid., pp. 48 & 60.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid., pp. 62-63.

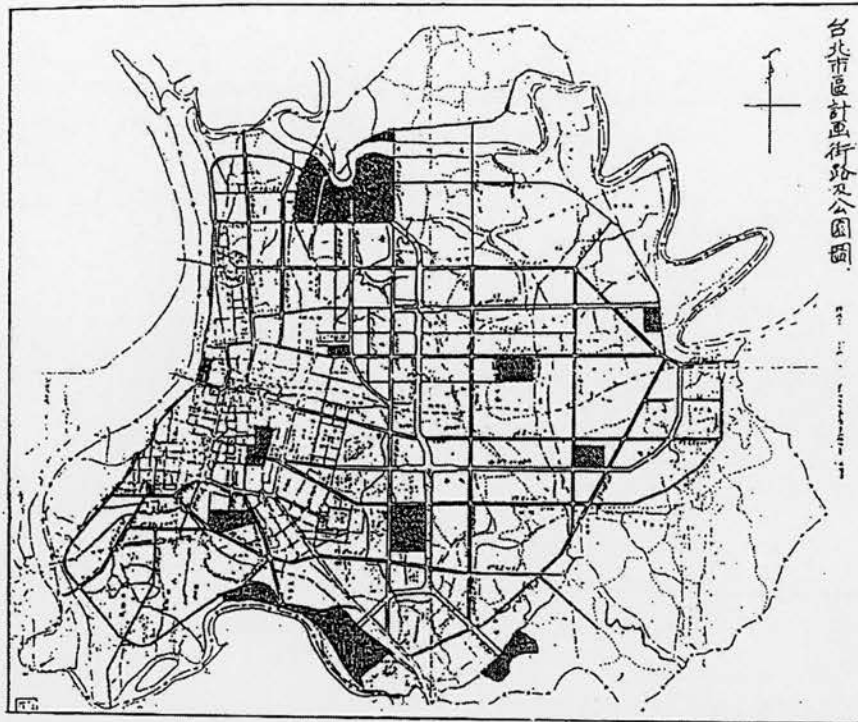


Fig. 9. Taipei City Plan (1932) showing the road system and parks (shaded areas) towards the east. (Shyh-Meng Huang, "A Study on Transformation of Urban Structure by Reviewing Planning History of Taipei in Japanese Colonial Era (AD. 1895-1945)," *Journal of Building and Planning National Taiwan University*, Vol. 4, No. 1, Feb. 1989, Research, p. 79.)

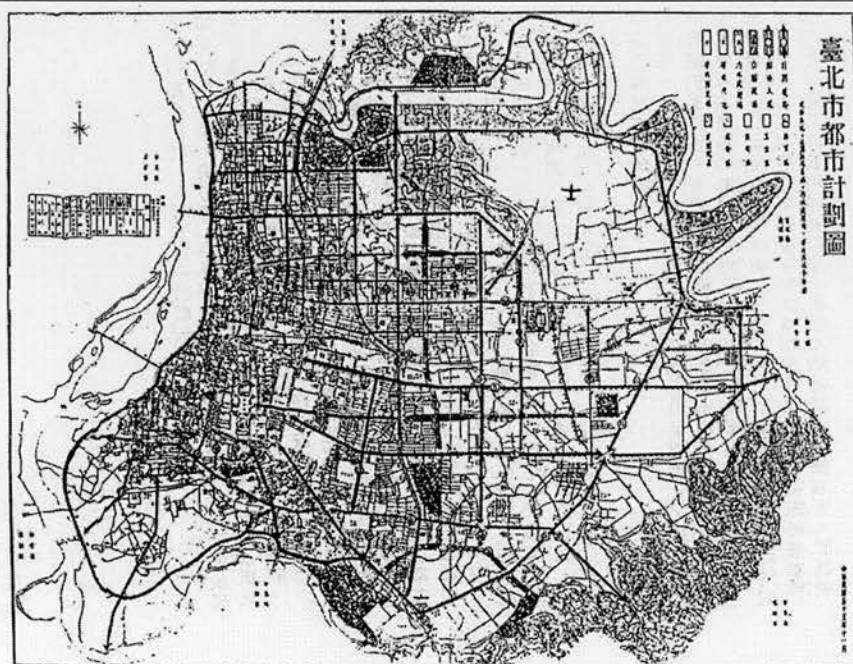


Fig. 10. Taipei City Plan (1957) showing the reduction of parks and green avenues, and the increase in the residential zone in comparison with the plan of 1932. (Hsu-Cheng Tseng, 1994, p. 49).

This was done in order to accommodate the increasing number of migrants from the countryside. This change reveals the economy-oriented city plan which lacks a systematic policy for accommodating the increasing population from the countryside, and thus led to the dense development in the East District in the late 1970s. There was no major construction of new roads around this area during the U.S. Aid (1957-1967),<sup>25</sup> because the major concern of city development during the 1960s was to provide transportation to the Sung-Shan international airport for the export trade.<sup>26</sup> Therefore, without an appropriate city plan, the landscape around the Chung-Hsiao East Road saw the co-existence of farmland and high-rise buildings in the 1970s. (Fig. 11)

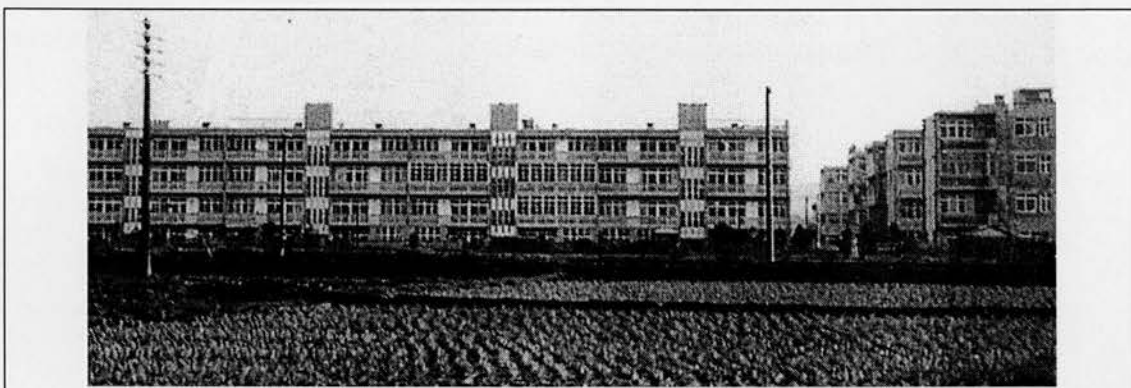


Fig. 11. In 1962, Kuang-Wu apartment complex on Chung-Hsiao East Road was surrounded by farmland. (MDA, 1998, p. 55.)

As a result of this inadequate city plan, the planned business zone could not fulfil the increasing business demand of the growing urban population in the East District after the road was constructed in 1973. Thus, while the area itself expanded, the businesses within the area also grew, changing the use and form of this street. For example, the area became the most popular location for new business development after the relaxation of the regulations against high-rise building in 1974,<sup>27</sup> even though it was planned for small retail shops for local residents, according to the land use and control regulation of Taipei City in 1983. Several major landmark buildings

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25 The U.S. Aid is the major fund for the construction of the roads in Taipei during 1950-1965. Ibid., p. 71.

26 The major purpose of the construction of these roads in Taipei is to transport the export trade for the booming economy. Tsung-Te Teng, *The Formation*, p. 31.



of the 1970s were built in this area, such as: Hsiang-Pin Building (1968), Lao-Yeh Building and Central Hospital, finished in 1972; Lin-Ken Building and Ta-Lu Building, constructed in 1973, and Apollo Building in 1978.<sup>28</sup> (Fig.12-14) As these buildings were investments by private enterprise, therefore achieving the maximum floor space was the priority in their design. Thus, the plan and the layout of the buildings are intense, and without much amenity space.



Fig. 12. The Hsiang-Pin Building was the early landmark of the East District due to the distinctive triangle form of its building and its open space which was a gathering place as a result of the bus terminal. (Photo by author, 2001)



Fig. 13. Central Hospital (1972). (MDA, 1998, p. 61)



Fig. 14. The Apollo Building (1976). (MDA, 1998, p. 88)

<sup>27</sup> In 1973, in response to the first petroleum crisis, the government limited the building of high-rise buildings in order to control the high price of construction materials and economic situation. Tsung-Te Teng, *The Formation*, p. 69.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid., p. 33. And Hsu-Cheng Tseng, 1994, pp. 155-156.



In viewing the conflict between private and public space in this area today, the private market forces actually change the spatial structure of this area and dominates official development policy. In fact, this economic development orientated policy is deeply rooted in the political situation of Taiwan. After Taiwan withdrew from the United Nations in 1971 and broke diplomatic relations with many countries, the government sought economic success to promote Taiwan to the world. The development of Chung-Hsiao East Road reflects the political situation and demonstrates the economic ambition in the change of its spatial plan and architectural form.

However, the city plan cannot accommodate rapid economic development, which has resulted in the metropolitan dualism in both the space and lifestyle of Taipei. This modernized development in the East District also brought into doubt the authenticity of the cityscape, in contrast to the old developed area in the Western side of the city. This spatial disjunction is the projection of social changes and political relations. This phenomenon of the development gap between different areas is also represented in literature:

“That night, I drove to New Park, then walked around the streets. I walked along the Kuei-Yang Street, and then arrived at Wan-Hua District imperceptibly. This was my first time to Lung-Shan Temple [in the western side of the city]. There is the ‘real’ Taipei where night-markets were bustling with activity and houses were old...I strolled pass the vendors on both side. They sold clothes, snacks, and also herbal medicines. Sometimes I stopped and looked around the goods on the stalls, listened to the selling noise of the vendors, and squeezed in the crowd. I want to join their life but always feel the distance between us.”<sup>29</sup>  
(My translation)

Here, the real Taipei is associated with sensual experiences evoked by the old houses, the temple, and the noise and smells of night market. In contrast, since 1981, the

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<sup>29</sup> Ta-Hung Wang, *Tu Lien-Kuei*, p. 60.

image of the East District has become synonymous with high-rise buildings, which is an outcome of a rapid economic development and commercial investments.<sup>30</sup> The narrator's experience indicates the development gap and conflicting social relations between the old town and the modern East District. This confirms Lefebvre's concept that social relations project themselves into a space, become inscribed there and produce the space itself.<sup>31</sup> The development history in this phase helps us to view how the uneven development occurred in the city, how its centre moved to Chung-Hsiao East Road, and how the rootless landscape was created by economic forces. Thus, the streetscape of Chung-Hsiao East Road seems "inauthentic" but in fact is the beginning of the search for "authenticity" in a contemporary city.

As Simmel and Frisby suggest, modernity is a particular mode of lived experience within modern society, and the external world becomes part of our inner world.<sup>32</sup> The modern streetscape of Chung-Hsiao East Road reveals the effect of modernity in Taipei in the way that inhabitants respond and adapt their lifestyles to the economic and social changes in city. The external world, composed of those modern style buildings, and grid streets, is the expression of people's consciousness as it adapts to modernization, and the dominance of the economic power within the cityscape. Thus the streetscape of Chung-Hsiao East Road is not simply the representation of imposed capitalist development but rather a cultural simulation of the West in parallel with the history of its own development.

#### **4.1-2 The Informal Landscape**

While changes in urban form and concepts of public space alter the way in which space is used, political transformation alters social behaviour too. This in itself changes how public space is used. The unsettled attitude of political and economic immigrants creates a type of informal landscape that rejects the rules imposed by authority. The informal landscape of Chung-Hsiao East Road is affected by intensive commercial development and inadequate public space. Following the demands of

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30 A survey of the image of Taipei has shown the image of the East District with high-rise buildings. Hsu-Cheng Tseng, *The Urbanization*, p. 167.

31 Lefebvre, *The Production*, p. 129.

32 David Frisby, *Fragments of Modernity*, (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1985), p. 46.

private commercial developers, the public space allocation of the Taipei City Plan was modified in 1968, destroying the green system of the city plan of 1932. This development oriented plan of 1968 encouraged business development and left little open space.<sup>33</sup> The informal landscape is represented in: 1) the mixed-use zoning, and 2) privatised public space.

1) The mixed-use zoning: Due to the late construction of Chung-Hsiao East Road, this area actually became the most valuable site because the other area has already been developed.<sup>34</sup> Therefore, although this area was planned mainly as a residential district, commercial activities have spread over it and changed the planned streetscape. For instance, 48 per cent of the planned residential part of this area which is surrounded by Fu-Hsing South Road, Kuang-Fu South Road, Jen-Ai Road and the old rail track, is actually used for commercial activities.<sup>35</sup> The small lanes around the Chung-Hsiao East Road are thus full of diverse and characteristic shops. (Fig. 15-16)



Fig. 15. The diversity of shops in the small lanes. (Photo by author, 2000)



Fig. 16. The busy lanes at night. (Photo by author, 2001)

Although this mixed-use of urban space did not form a systematic cityscape as planners expected, it makes this area a popular fashion and recreation centre with all sort of services such as, restaurants, pubs, cafes, clothing and jewellery shops. Crowds of pedestrians and cars are especially densely packed on the famous lanes

33 There are two major types of open space in section four of Chung-Hsiao East Road, one is plaza such as, Ding-Huo Square, and the other is open space in front of buildings, such as Sogo Department Stores and the Pacific Construction Company.

34 By the time this road was built in 1973, the western part of Taipei City had been the major city centre since 1882.

216 and 181 of Section Four on the Chung-Hsiao East Road, and the lane 151 of section four on the Jen-Ai Road.

However, since this area is not designed for business, the intense use causes spatial conflict among different user groups. For example, the street parking of Chung-Hsiao East Road in front of the Sogo Department Store and Ming Yao Department Store was suspended because the opening of these department stores brought heavy traffic to this road.<sup>36</sup> In addition, the street vendors who occupy the sidewalk also increase the traffic problems in those narrow lanes and cause noise problem for the local residents. Moreover, some of the street vendors who come to the main street arcade after the closing of the stores in the evening have formed an informal type of night market on the major street. This informal landscape is a result of the insufficient planning, and the lack of use-control. However, it reveals the traditional living habits of the inhabitants as they stroll around the new night market as they did around the old one, despite the fact that this area was 'planned' as the most advanced and gentrified business area. This streetscape here is out of the control of the planning authority. This confirms that the production of urban space is the product of authority, but compromised by social relations.

2) Privatised public space: The intense commercial use and inadequate open space of this area causes a competitive consciousness regarding the use of public space. For example, sidewalks and squares around Chung-Hsiao East Road are often used for the displays of shops and vendors, and for parking. (Fig. 17-18) This conflict of spatial use reveals a demand for public space and outdoor activity.

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35 Hui-Ting Cheng, *A Study*, p. 3-22.

36 It took on average half hour to pass 1.4 kilometres of Chung-Hsiao Road due to the shopping traffic resulting from the Sogo Department Store. This resulted in the cancellation of street parking on section four. *Ming-Sheng Newspaper*, Dec., 1987, cited in *Ibid.* p. 3-26.



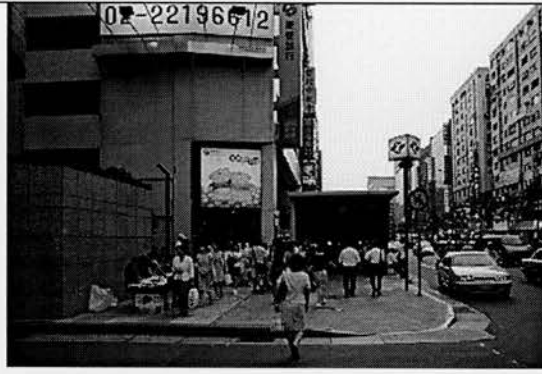


Fig. 17. Vendors-occupied sidewalk beside the Metro entrance. (Photo by author, 2001)



Fig. 18. The sidewalk in front of King Stone Bookstore is occupied by vendors. (Photo by author, 1998)

The existing public space of Chung-Hsiao East Road is mainly of three types: i) Ding-Huo Trilogy, this is the biggest open space in this section and was built on top of the former canal. ii) Open space in front of buildings, such as the open space in front of the Sogo Department Store, E'slite Bookstore and the Pacific Construction Company, iii) the street arcade along the main road. These public spaces are more or less privatised, either being used casually for the daily activities, such as shopping and display, or for organized public activities, such as performance and festival events for the department stores and bookstore. (Fig. 19-20) They are the spatial reflection of the growing diversity and complexity of commercial, social, and recreational activities.



Fig. 19. The open space in front of Sogo Department Store is used for informal activities such as waiting, chatting and meeting. (Photo by author, 1998)



Fig. 20. The open space in front of E'slite Bookstore holds various performances and activities. (MDA, Proposal for the business future of Chung-Hsiao East Road, 1996, p. 2)



On the one hand, these public spaces are the result of the development policy which uses Zoning Control Regulation to include privately-developed public space in large-scale developments.<sup>37</sup> The policy intends to control the cityscape by systematic regulation putting the consideration of public benefit into urban planning. However, on the other hand, it also shows the powerlessness of the government to provide sufficient public space under privately dominated development.

A recent impact in the development of the East District is the development of Hsin-Yi Special District in 1981. This plan extends business development further towards the East and is intended to relieve the overdeveloped Chung-Hsiao East Road. One of the major concerns of the development plan is the detailed regulation of public space in the new development of Hsin-Yi Special District. This shows the efforts of the government to create a public space system and the intention to control the possibility of informal landscape. (Fig. 21)<sup>38</sup> It emphasizes the importance of public space within the streetscape and its importance to the image of a city. Nevertheless, this authority controlled plan has not resulted in a development as prosperous as the development in section four of Chung-Hsiao East Road. A cityscape is more an accumulation of lived experience than an instant implantation.



Fig. 21. Warner Village Shopping Centre in Hsin-Yi District designed with an open space and pedestrian sidewalk. (Photo by Ming-Kang Liang, 2001)

<sup>37</sup> It controls the height and the floor-space of the building encouraging designing public open space in front of it according to the Zoning Control Regulation.

<sup>38</sup> The planning regulation of Hsia-Yi Special District includes the design criteria for pedestrian sidewalk, street arcade, and park system. Liang-Chuan Cheng, "Illustration of the Original Concept of Hsin-Yi Special District," *Chinese Architect*, Vol. 8709, Sept. 1998, p. 75.

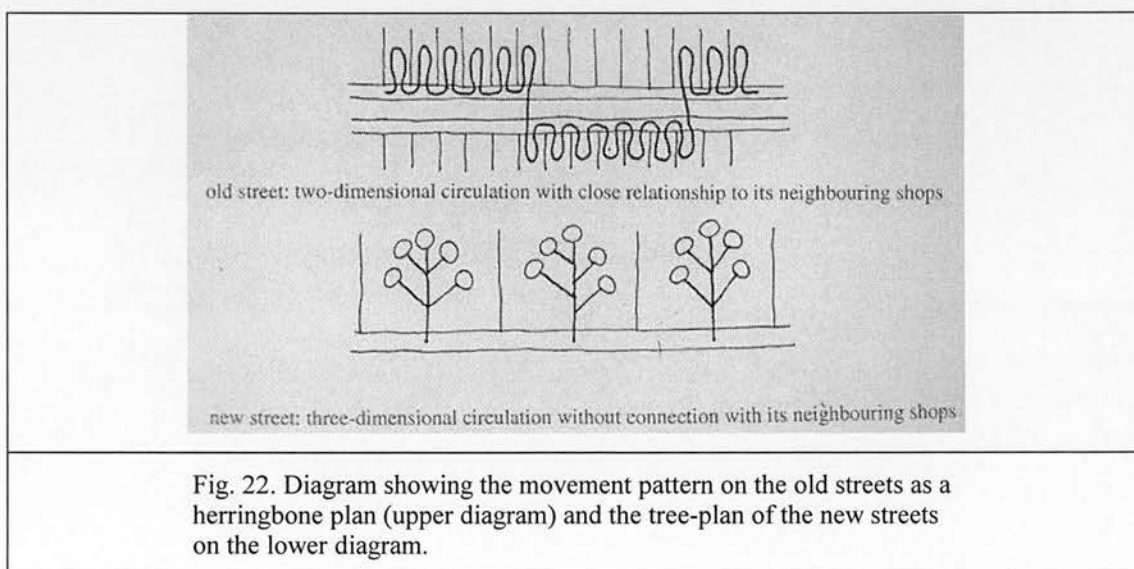
As we have seen, from the history of development here, we find that the present modern cityscape records the social movements, such as economic growth, political regulation and urban consciousness. The westernised “inauthentic” streetscape is not only the result of capitalism, but also influenced by political forces and social interaction. Tracing the history of development, the diverse and informal streetscape can be seen as the fragmented modern development, which helps to locate today’s rootless landscape within its historical setting.

## 4.2 The Memory of Place

Baudrillard suggests that experience enables us to see through the myths of origin and the proliferation of nostalgia in modern society. What kind of experience can we perceive from Chung-Hsiao East Road that will form the memory of place and identify “authenticity” in its cityscape? Chung-Hsiao East Road is a fast-growing and ever-changing street in which memory is not preserved in the physical form of the buildings, or landmarks. Here, memories are evoked by the transformation of shops, and the new invented traditions that constitute spatial experience. The experience is an evocation of the memory of place, but it has different aspects. Consumption has dominated spatial experience and the rapid transformation of shops illustrates changes of lifestyle, shopping habits and therefore body experiences. Memories are also triggered by the newly-invented traditions, which businesses use to promote themselves. Nevertheless, the lost landscape is an important spatial element. These spatial elements seek to establish themselves as memories for the future.

### 4.2-1 The Transformation of Shops

Consumption has dominated spatial experience on Chung-Hsiao East Road. The transformation of shops illustrates changes of lifestyle, shopping habits and body experiences. For example, the shopping street pattern has changed from the herringbone plan of the old streets, such as Ti-Hua Street, to a Tree-plan of the new roads, such as Chung-Hsiao East Road. (Fig. 22)



The shopping space on the old streets, such as Ti-Hua Street, is only on the ground floor, which has an open plan for display. Each shop connects with neighbouring shops to form a continuous circulation. The new shopping pattern is a three-dimensional net of shopping circulation without connection to neighbouring shops. People's walking and shopping experience is changed from two-dimensional circulation to three-dimensional wandering. This change of spatial experience is a result of dense development and the trend towards high-rise buildings. The power of capital influences the whole city-form as well as the use of individual shop spaces.

The type of commodity in shops has also changed from a relatively narrow range to a vast array of goods in the department stores. Shopping habits have changed from the purchase of single products from one of several similar shops, to one of browsing through many different products in a single department store. In addition, the diversity of shops around Chung-Hsiao East Road indicates that shopping has become a leisure pursuit or ritual activity in this commercialised society. Thus the façade and interior space of these shops constantly change in style and appearance in order to attract customers. As a result of these changes, memory relating to these shops is hard to retain.

Regarding the body experience on Chung-Hsiao East Road, the boundary between the public and private space is intentionally blurred by the owners in order to attract customers. For example, the display of commodities within the street arcade is common, even though it is forbidden by regulation. This affects the pedestrian's walking experience, which is deliberately interrupted from time to time. (Fig. 23) This simulates the walking experiences on the old street where public space is used as the extension of private space. (Fig. 24)



Fig. 23. The ATT department store uses part of its arcade to display goods. (Photo by author, 1998)



Fig. 24 The display of goods on the arcade of Ti-Hua Street. (Sketch by author, 1998)

In addition, some large department stores and companies maintain some open space for the public, according to the development regulation, and are thus permitted to build taller buildings. These places, such as Sogo Square and the E'slite Bookstore, become a gathering place with meetings, special events and activities. The close contact of the crowd makes this privatised public space become part of the collective memory of Chung-Hsiao East Road.

A modernized street such as Chung-Hsiao East Road does not have a great deal of physical connection with the history of the city, however, there is a sense of continuity that exists in the use of space and the lifestyle of the inhabitants. For example, these street arcades are the contemporary attempt to create a continuity of spatial sense, both on the historical street and on the modern Chung-Hsiao East Road. Its informal display of commodities seems an unmistakable trace from history and memory. It evokes the "authentic" body experience from the old streets through the sense of smell, touch, taste, and hearing.

#### 4.2-2 Invented Tradition

The development of Chung-Hsiao East Road shows little trace of traditional or historical elements because its development has been condensed into such a short period of time.<sup>39</sup> Due to the drastic change of streetscape, its historical roots are

<sup>39</sup> Chung-Hsiao East Road was expanded to 12 km in 1979. The major development of buildings in Section Four was after this expansion. Metropolitan Development Association, ed. *The Graciousness*



hardly recognized under the demands of commercial development and the adoption of the ideas of Western market economies. Influenced by global tourism, the promotion of culture and tourism has become a principal component of the new economic development strategy in many cities. The development of Chung-Hsiao East Road has been affected by this tendency and political liberation, and thus invents tradition and commercial festivals to create its identity and memory.

Despite this economic factor, modern politics also encourages the construction of unique places to avoid the monotonous urban landscape. For example, the political openness in Taiwan which allowed freedom of speech in media, publishing and so on, created the conditions for the invented traditions and festivals in Chung-Hsiao East Road. The trend toward political liberalisation and democratisation encouraged citizen participation, and an urban consciousness that sought to re-examine the policy of urban development and retain an “authentic” urban life. Thus, Chung-Hsiao East Road hosts dramatic events, such as entirely invented festivals (e.g. coffee festivals and Christmas celebrations) and demonstrations (e.g. Shell-less Snail),<sup>40</sup> and is a place where the social, political and economic relations and different ideologies interact as a “theatre of social actions.” This street theatre reformulates the public sphere and affects the memory of contemporary cities.

A distinctive organization arranging these social events is the Metropolitan Development Association established in 1994.<sup>41</sup> It has organized several street festivals around this road, such as: Music-Culture Square (March, 1996), Coffee Festival (July, 1998) and Taiwan Beer Festival (May, 1999) on An-Ho Road, and the Christmas events of 1998. (Fig. 25-26)

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*of East District- The Historical Photographs and Texts from the East District of Taipei*, (Taipei: Yuan Shen, 1998), p. 11.

<sup>40</sup> For details of this matter see pp. 211-212 below.

<sup>41</sup> In 1994, the Metropolitan Development Association was established by the sponsors of several private companies, such as Pacific Construction Company Ltd., to improve both the business and living environment of East District. It has organized a series of improvement plans which included design plans and activity plans, such as these street festivals. However, due to the difficulty on co-ordinating various bodies and financial resource, this association has reduced its activities since 2000.



Fig. 25. Music-Culture Square at the temporarily pedestrianised An-Ho Road. (Photo courtesy of MDA, 1996)



Fig. 26. Public events held in front of the Sogo Department Store. (Photo by author, 1999)

During these events, people gathered densely in this temporary pedestrian zone, and in the small open space in front of buildings such as the Sogo Department Store, Ming Yao Department Store, Ton-Lin Department Store, E'slite bookstore, and Pacific T-Zone. These thoroughfares are used as a festival ground where enthusiastic crowds expressed their desire for an active urban life and adequate public space. However, the conflict between pedestrian rights and traffic control exposes the inadequate planning of public space in this fast-growing business area. These events and the establishment of the Metropolitan Development Association (MDA) are in response to several social and economic factors. For example, the establishment of the MDA emerged because the construction of the Metro blue line created the traffic and environmental problem which affected the business of shops in this area.<sup>42</sup>

Although these organizations and events seem like civic participation, they are based on commercial investment and have no deep roots in local culture or history. It is difficult to see the connection between the community and the commercial interest in Chung-Hsiao East Road because most of the interactions here are merely impersonal economic contacts. Therefore the memory of these invented traditions and events is limited in this streetscape.

These discussions about the transformation of shops and invented tradition have raised two fundamental issues in city planning and urban landscape. First, capitalism

is dominant in the real estate market and in the formation of the streetscape. As a result of the imposition of global capitalist, the streetscape of Chung-Hsiao East Road becomes the embodiment of the shifting value systems that simulate the West, which is represented in the popularity of international brands and the frequent changes of shops, goods, signs and buildings. These constant changes of style and appearance make memory hard to retain. It indicates that "private capital" and the liberalization of the media create a commercial culture which has been the major power in shaping the streetscape.<sup>43</sup> Second, these events affirm that contemporary Taipei has assimilated capitalist culture, and is ambiguous in its cultural and historical identities. Therefore, in order to create the memory of place in this modern street, the participation of citizens often uses these events to connect with local history, cultural identities and social movements. However, because these activities cannot echo the nature of the citizens and cultural life, these efforts to influence the street life of this road only appear as fragments in history and memory. The street activities show a city tableau of the public sphere which creates a symbolic meaning of the memory of place if only they are tied with the everyday life of the inhabitants.

#### **4.2-3 The Lost Landscape**

The streets of East District around Section Four of Chung-Hsiao East Road are designed in a grid system, with the exception of An-Ho Road and the dismantled rail track. These two unusual curving streets reveal the topographical history of this area. (Fig. 27) The lost landscape of the hidden canal can be traced in this distinguishing curving streets among the grid streets on the area map.

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42 *The Great News*, 2 October 1994.

43 "Private" comes from "the freedom of the market and the freedom of choice and style of life that commodities and wealth can provide." Stuart Hall, *The Hard Road to Renewal*, (New York: Verso Press, 1988), pp. 138-146.

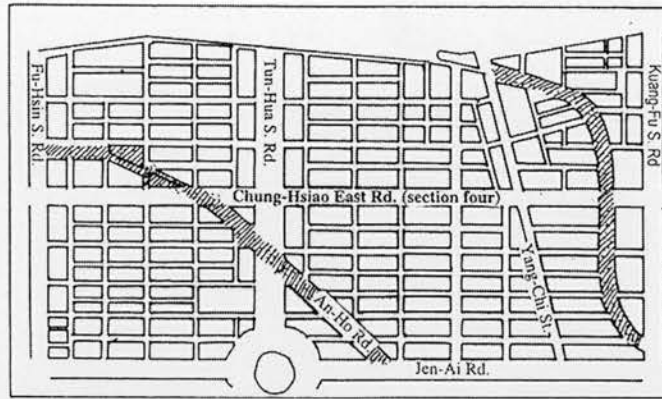


Fig. 27. The street map of East District showing the trace of the lost canal and the dismantled rail track. (The shaded area)

1) An-Ho Road connects to Dragon Door Square and Ding-Hou Square: This curving line indicates a covered canal underneath and it contains three valuable open spaces, namely Dragon Door Square, Ding-Hou Square and Lou-Kung-Chun Park in the East District. This canal was built in 1762 and was the major water supply for agriculture before the rapid development of the East District.

In 20 years, the landscape of this region changed from farmland, with Lou Kung Chun Canal, to modern Chung-Hsiao East Road with its high-rise buildings.<sup>44</sup> Today most of the canal site is used for road construction and public facilities. (Fig. 28-29)



Fig. 28. Lou-Kung-Chun Canal in the 1960s. (MDA, 1998, p. 34)



Fig. 29. Lou-Kung-Chun Canal was covered in 1981, and Ding-Hou Square was built on the site. This square is the major open space and transportation node for Metro and buses on Chung-Hsiao East Road. (Photo by author, 2001)

<sup>44</sup> From an interview of Min-Chu Chen's experience about East District indicates a lost memory caused by rapid development of this area. Chen is an architect and has lived in this area more than 20 years. Metropolitan Development Association, ed., *The Graciousness*, p. 107.



Dragon Door Square, Ding-Hou Square and Lou-Kung-Chun Park were constructed on the covered canal in 1981 and were popularly used by pedestrians, street painters, vendors and local inhabitants before the construction of the Metro Blue Line in 1992.<sup>45</sup> The lost canal reveals the drastic change of cityscape here and indicates how the economy became the priority of city development. However, today people remember this place because its open space with public life rather than for the lost canal.

2) The dismantled railway line: This track started at Kuang-Fu South Road stretching to Yang-Chi Street and ending at Civil Boulevard. (See Fig. 27) It used to be a feeder railway that transported the products of Ssu-Ssu arsenal to the main rail line. The site was abandoned as a result of the removal of the arsenal, the building of the underground railway, and the change of the site for Hsin-I Special District.<sup>46</sup> Only the remains of the rail track on the nearby small lane of Yang-Chi Street indicate the past military use of this busy shopping area.<sup>47</sup> (Fig. 30) Today this dismantled railway is the most popular street parking lot around Chung-Hsiao East Road. (Fig. 31)



Fig. 30. The last remains of railway track in 1999. (Ching-Chih Li, Central Daily News, 17 April, 1999)



Fig. 31. Yang-Chi Street car park. (Photo by Ming-Kang Liang, 2001)

<sup>45</sup> Metropolitan Development Association, ed., *The Graciousness*, pp. 34-36.



<sup>46</sup> Hsia-I Special District was originally planned on this site but later changed to the site further towards the junction of the Chung-Hsiao East Road, Jen-Ai Road and Hsin-Yi Road.

<sup>47</sup> The railway has been moved underground to the Civil Boulevard. Ching-Chih Li, "The Cross of Space and History- the Remain of City Memory," *The Central Daily News*, 17 April 1999.



Except for the curving form of the street, there is no other trace of it. In addition to the other small streets around Chung-Hsiao East Road, this area also accommodates various styles of cafés and restaurants where people often meet TV stars, singers and other performers from the nearby Chung-Hua TV station. This experience of pop culture is totally disconnected from the image of the passing trains loaded with weapons in earlier times. In addition, instead of the noise from trains, this area is penetrated with commercial noises, such as: the signal music of "Do-Mi-So-Do" for announcements in department stores, the pop music promoting shops, seasonal Christmas songs and Chinese New Year songs. Thus, the sound of the city also changes seasonally along with the streetscape.

Increasingly, since 1970s, designers intend to bring back the old pattern of the town through conservation and the introduction of urban history into their design for creating the cultural identity of the city. For example, Parc del Clot, in Barcelona, has reused the remains of historical buildings and architectural elements to reflect the site of industrial buildings and local history.<sup>48</sup> (Fig. 32-33)

	
<p>Fig. 32. Birdseye view of Parc del Clot in Barcelona designed by Freixes and Miranda. (Peter Rowe, 1999, p. 57)</p>	<p>Fig. 33. The old wall and arcade are reused as the design elements in the Parc del Clot. (Photo by author, 1995)</p>

48 Parc del Clot is one of the urban renovation projects for the improvement of public space in Barcelona since 1980. Peter G. Rowe, *Civic Realism*, (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1999), p. 57.

Influenced by this tendency, the cityscape of Taipei has also retained the traditional architectural forms and civic events evidenced since the 1970s. For example, the Sun-I-Hsien Memorial Hall (1972) and the housing project of Tong-Wang-Han-Kon (1983) in the East District both use the symbolic forms of the traditional Chinese architecture and garden to create its cultural identity.<sup>49</sup> (Fig. 34-35)



Fig. 34. Sun-I-Hsien Memorial Hall has the symbolic form of a Chinese roof. (1972). (Photo by author, 2000)



Fig. 35. Tong-Wang-Han-Kon (1983) uses traditional architectural elements on its façade. (Photo by Julian Cheng, 2002)

In 1995, the Metropolitan Development Association arranged an exhibition of historical photos of the East District, “Discovery of the Grace of the East District,” which associated the memory of the covered canal and the dismantled railway with local history.

Urban preservation in such a drastically changed street is not limited to its historical heritage. It preserves the multi-cultural heritage of society and reflects the cultural landscape. Therefore, these invented traditions and events will have the possibility of becoming the authentic living experience of the inhabitants only if they connect the memory of place with the diversity of cultures, life experience within the space.

<sup>49</sup> Tsung-Te Teng, *The Formation*, p. 90.

### 4.3 The Visual Simulation

In her study of Walter Benjamin's Arcade Project, Susan Buck-Morss states her impression of modern shopping streets,

"The streets had become a hall of mirrors, of shop windows, which framed, reproduced and distorted every desire and pleasure: this is commodity fetishism, the exotics of consumption, produced *in-situ*. The streets had become the interiors of a bourgeois world, where shops windows are mirrors reflecting their desire back, but hiding the soulless heart of commodification, of mass production: the nightmare reality of capitalist dream production."<sup>50</sup>

Perhaps Chung-Hsiao East Road is the best showcase to see this double phenomenon of commodity fetishism and the mass production of modernization. These phenomenons are represented twofold in this road. Firstly, the visual simulation of the capitalised housing market and architecture: The different styles and periods of buildings and interiors exist simultaneously in this area without a smooth transition, showing the power of capital to import various foreign influences without relevant context, since the economic growth and development in the 1980s. Secondly, the mass media dominates the visual image of the street: The material form of a city landscape, once displaying our cultural and historical expression in the appearance of a city, has been reduced to mere decoration.

The visual images of this streetscape reveal the changing lifestyle of its inhabitants, and express their confusion and unsettled consciousness caused by the political change and social movement in the 1980s.<sup>51</sup> The reorganization of the power structure is reflected on the spatial structure as well as the social structure.

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<sup>50</sup> Susan Buck-Morss, cited in Steve Pile, *The Body*, p. 232.

<sup>51</sup> For example, these political changes include the establishment of the People's Progress Party in 1986 and the liberation of the Media in 1987.

#### 4-3.1 The Visual Simulation of the Capitalised Housing Market and Commercialised Architecture

The mass migration to Taipei between 1963-1972 is the period of greatest increase in population in its history. (See Fig. 6) The demand for housing and office buildings is tied to the major period of development in Chung-Hsiao East Road in the 70s and 1980s.

Logon and Molotch analysed the property market of America and pointed out that the "housing market dominates the urban phenomena and controls the life of cities."<sup>52</sup> Similar influence is also found in the building development on Chung-Hsiao East Road. Because the development of Taipei, based on the American Aid programme in the 1950s, and flourishing in the economic growth in the 1970s and 1980s, is strongly influenced by American culture and development, thus the streetscape of Chung-Hsiao East Road reflects the dominance of capitalised development as in America.

The capitalised development, and the political and media-driven shift towards a consumer culture, have substantially changed the nature of selling space and dominated the formulation of streetscape. Therefore, although this area was originally planned as the second linear commercial district for small-scale retail establishments to serve local residences, in reality this area has the highest density of businesses and shops, and serves as the consumption centre of the whole city.<sup>53</sup>

This commercial development imports foreign influence as the symbol of modernization, creating different styles and periods of buildings and interiors, which exist simultaneously. The fast-growing economy of Taipei increased the speed of these simulations of the West, which were reflected on the cityscape in a compressed period of time. The streetscape of Chung-Hsiao East Road thus does not show a smooth transition process but rather fragments of westernisation without relevant

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<sup>52</sup> J. R. Logon and H. L. Molotch, *Urban Fortunes*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987), p. 17.

<sup>53</sup> It was planned for second linear commercial district in the land use regulation of Taipei in 1983. Hui-Ting Cheng, *A Study*, p. 3-21.



content. For example, Hsiang-Pin Building, built in 1968, is the landmark of the East District in its early period. (See Fig. 12-13) Its tangled form designed with Ding-Hua Square which echoes to the shape of the site,<sup>54</sup> is a typical modernist concrete building. All 80 units of this building were sold out in a month thus showing the power of capital to take control of development. In 1976, the Apollo Building was built with a typical curtain wall. It is also the first mixed use building of housing and offices with a courtyard as a symbol of luxury space. The ground floor and basement are used for ATT department stores and various shops. (Fig. 36) Until 1987, the Sogo Department Stores designed an open space in front of the building. The façade of the building with its curved line and minimal windows was designed for the maximal use of advertisement.<sup>55</sup> (See Fig. 5) This spatial expression is the product of commercialised development. Chung-Hua TV Station built in 1984 has a hi-tech outlook with steel structure and glass curtain wall. (Fig. 37) Its architectural form stands out from the surrounding high-rise building blocks, and symbolizes the emerging power of mass media in society.

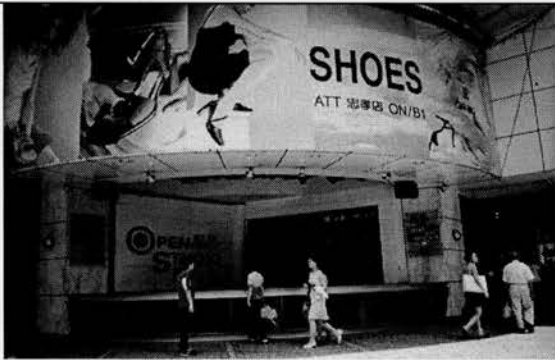


Fig. 36. The ground floor and basement of the Apollo Building are used for ATT Department Store and various shops. (Photo by author, 1998)

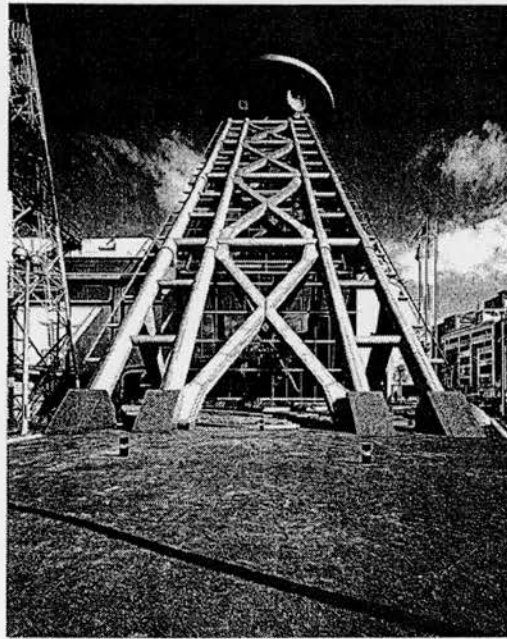


Fig. 37. Chung-Hua TV Station (1984) has a hi-tech form. (Photo by Jullian Cheng, 2002 )

54 The former canal was under the site of the square.

55 Sang-Ching Guo (architect) states that this architecture form is influenced by the Japanese manager of the department store. Metropolitan Development Association, ed. *The Graciousness*, p. 118.



This capitalized housing market and commercialised architecture are also encouraged by the political situation. The democratic policy of Taiwan together with the liberation of the media, and international trade, encouraged massive capital investment and allowed cultural products to infiltrate the local market. This democratic policy links strongly with the capitalization process which creates space as a product which can be exchanged, bought and sold, becoming homogenous and reproducible. Moreover, the developers in Taiwan created a particular selling system for the housing market by requiring customers to pay in advance, in order to obtain their money as the major capital for construction.<sup>56</sup> This system enhances the commercial housing market and used the visual simulation of the West in architecture in order to promote its sale.

Streetscape becomes a lived space that represents the changing social relations of production. For example: the major construction of Chung-Hsiao East Road occurred while Taipei was being transformed from an agricultural into a consumer society. Office buildings and fashion shops dominated the use of this street. Thus, its streetscape records this exploitation and the reproduction of space by capitalists.

In modern society, consumption has been promoted as a new form of democracy and a new way of urban life.<sup>57</sup> The political situation of Taiwan, in contrast to that of Communist Mainland China, is particularly open to development. The desires of people are manipulated by capitalists, which leads to consumption and shapes the space that they create. As a result, these simulations of high-rise Western buildings represent the desires of the inhabitants in Taipei, who have a longing for a modernized city and international recognition.

On the other hand, people also long for a sense of identity, as can be seen from the simulation of the past in the streetscape. However, most of these attempts are lost under the wave of capitalized architecture because:

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56 Hsu-Cheng Tseng, *The Urbanisation*, pp. 94-95.

57 Edward Bernay, TV interview, BBC 2, n.d. 2002.

“...[I]n the desire to solidify the traces of the past into a unified image, to restore an intactness that never was, the designer focuses on the context of a landmark or a historic district, thus becoming the architect of theatrical stage sets that have little to say about the memory of place.”<sup>58</sup>

Unfortunately this is what has happened in Chung-Hsiao East Road in the last 40 years of development. So we see some buildings and shops using traditional elements, either on their façade or interiors, in order to evoke the nostalgic feeling for differentiating from the capitalise streetscape. However, without relevant content, they are only another type of visual simulation from the fragments of the past. (Fig. 38)



Fig. 38. A restaurant in a small lane of Chung-Hsiao East Road is decorated with a traditional sliding roof on its façade and has a poetic Chinese name, “Han She.” However, it sells Western food. (Mapy editors, Shopping Guide No. 1, 1998, p. 33)

#### 4.3-2 The Mass Media Domination of Visual Image of Street

The predominance of visualization here is reinforced by Capitalism and its images. “We buy on the basis of images,”<sup>59</sup> says Lefebvre, which indicates that the space of commerce teems with symbols of market forces. Therefore, these symbolic repetitions of space, building styles, hoardings and signs concretise the power of consumption in the formation of this streetscape.

<sup>58</sup> Christine Boyer, *The City*, p. 373.

<sup>59</sup> Henri Lefebvre expresses the increasing importance of visual character in space: “We buy on the basis of images.” Henri Lefebvre, *The Production*, p.76.

The economic and cultural imports stimulate the making of a new social world, intelligible in the volatile and changing visual image of Taipei. Indeed, visual image is invented to "read" the city. Those signs, hoardings, and building forms are supposed to illustrate cultural change in Taipei. Nonetheless, all of these help to create new markets for popular culture, and thus mass media has become the dominant force in the creation of these visual images. They condense relations of abstract power, property and commodity exchange into an accessible expression.

Firstly, the power of words is visible across the material form of this streetscape. The façade of Toin-Lin building contains a diversity of hoardings of various forms and materials advertising a wide range of shops, such as restaurants, cafes, pubs, beauty salons, dentists, clothes shops and a hearing-aid company. (Fig. 39) Its complexity shows the mixed-use of office building and the way in which the Taiwanese modify the Western culture to suit their life style, language and space. The Western image of shops, restaurants and buildings are translated into native language. Fragments of westernised space and cultural images are used for business promotion and widely broadcast by the mass media.



Fig. 39. The complexity of signs on the façade showing the mixed-use of office buildings and the adoption of Western culture. (Photo by author, 1999)



Fig. 40. Zee restaurant, with its interior in the 1950s Taiwanese style, promotes the Western pub culture. (Mapy editors, Shopping Guide No. 1, 1998, p. 35)

Secondly, historical components are also commonly depicted on these visual images. While taking the fragment of Westernised space and its cultural image, these visual images hybridises Taiwanese culture. (Fig. 40) For example, "Zee" restaurant promotes the western pub culture while selling Taiwanese food in a Taiwanese

interior. There are also restaurants which attempt to represent western 1930s and 1950s styles as a new trend for young people. A broader cultural diversity is represented by modern consumption through the promotion of the mass media. In this street, time becomes invisible because all the boundaries between the local and global, the past and the present, historical and modern are ambiguous and exist simultaneously under commercial culture. Those symbols, signs and commercial ornaments on the streetscape can only be seen as references to the changing consumer culture in Taipei. In a way, they 'localize' and 'punctuate' activities in buildings, cutting up space and time according to the requirements of the bourgeoisie.

Thirdly, a gentrified image is emerging in the visual image of East District. Statistically, Tsung-Te Teng states that in 1986, 96 % of 248 buildings in Taipei that have more than 12 floors, were in the East District. New types of shops such as international chain restaurants, designer clothes shops, and pubs continue to gather here.<sup>60</sup> Those buildings and shops use the most advanced materials to create their elite image, such as the glass curtain wall in the World Trade Building (1976), the traditional decorations on the housing building of Tong-Wang-Han-Kon (1983), and the hi-tech image on Chung-Hua TV Station (1994). The image of Chung-Hsiao East Road here shows a modernized cityscape but also plays a role in promoting cultural consumption in economic activity, life style, and facility. This 'elite' and 'expensive' image is enhanced through various media. For instance, films describing the urban life of Taipei often use the streetscape of Chung-Hsiao East Road to represent modern life, in contrast to the decline of the western part of the city.<sup>61</sup> The film, "Taipei Story," (1985) by Edward Yang is a good example. It shows a dramatic contrast between the declining Tataocheng area and the prosperous East District.<sup>62</sup>

In addition, there is a diverse range of individual shops in the small lanes, such as 216 and 181 Lane of Chung-Hsiao East Road, Section Four, and 151 Lane of Jen-Ai

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60 Hsu-Cheng Tseng, *The Urbanization*, p. 171.

61 Ching-Chih Lee has mentioned those films, which use the cityscape to strengthen their realism. "The Construct and Transformation of the Image of Taipei," in eds., Ru-Shou Robert Chen, Gene-Fon Liao, *Focus on Taipei*, pp. 20-33

Road, Section Four, which create a characteristic image in contrast to the mass shops on the modern avenue. This is a different type of consumer culture, which seeks to promote individuality and uniqueness, as opposed to mass production. The cultures of food, café, music, pub, and crafts are expressed in an extreme commercial development behind the main road. Take the number of cafés for example; from the 1998 Café Map of East District, there are 19 Cafés between the two blocks, 216 and 170 lanes, on the Section Four of Chung-Hsiao East Road. (Fig. 41-42)

Mass media has played a dominant part in creating the image of this consumer culture. As this is a place without much historical trace, mass media reinvents history and creates commercial events, such as pop star shows, the East District shopping guide, food guides and festivals. The diversity of restaurants illustrates that the multi-culture of food is one of the tourist' attractions of Taiwan.<sup>63</sup> This space reflects all sorts of imposed culture, such as fashion influences from Japanese, American and other international fashion. Culture becomes a commodity which can be bought, sold, produced and invented. There is no absolute "authenticity" in a commercialised space as it is meant to be made for sale. The visual image of this streetscape then reveals the powerlessness of planning control in Taipei and shows that form exist not only "as the frame of politics" but also 'as the frame for making money.'<sup>64</sup>

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62 Ru-Shou Robert Chen & Gene-Fon Liao, eds., *Focus on Taipei*, p. 161.

63The delicacy of Taiwanese food has been featured in several Japanese magazines. Sheng-LunYu, "Seeing Taiwan through Little Dumpling- How to Consume Foreign Culture by Food," *Central Daily News*, 5 May 1999.

64 Spiro Kostof suggested that "The most legitimate way to study North Italian urbanism, and architecture from about 1100 to 1500 may be to consider form as the frame of politics." Spiro Kostof, "Urbanism and Policy-Medieval Siena in Context," *ILA*, n.d., p. 66.





Fig. 41. “The Coffee Festival Map” showing the locations of cafes around Chung-Hsiao East Road. (MDA, 1998)



Fig. 42. The small lanes of Chung-Hsiao East Road are full of cafés and restaurants. (Photo by author, 1999)

#### **4.4 Mobility within Space**

Streets were initially designed for physical movement and integrated with social functions. And, as Castells states, the street represents a space of flows: flows of capital, labour, elements of productions, commodities, information decisions, and signals. Thus the mobility within space will show this flow, as illustrated in the movements on Chung-Hsiao East Road and the urban life of Taipei.

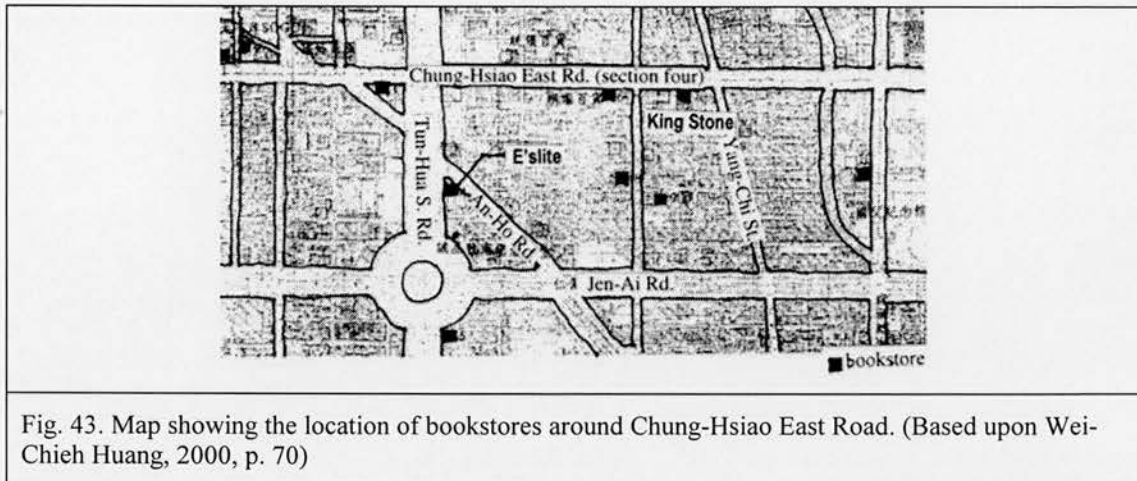
Mobility within space, in the changing streetscape and transformed society, has three aspects in this road. Firstly there are the commercial relationships, where the sale of commodities reveals the changes in society. Then there is the physical mobility. As people move about in these newly created spaces they reveal the structure and rhythm of city life. Thirdly, there is social mobility. Here, political and economic liberalization has introduced civic participation into the formation of the streetscape.

##### **4.4-1 Commercial Relationships**

On Chung-Hsiao East Road, consumer culture is the dominant force in creating the cityscape as the homogeneous matrix of capitalist space. Bookshops are particularly useful for demonstrating the changes in society. While retail shops are spatially transformed, they also reveal a transformation in culture. The books themselves introduce a wider variety of cultural and counter-cultural activities. Furthermore, it is not only the books which are commodities. A new, liberalized lifestyle is also for sale. The shops become cultural centres where lectures are given and ideas exchanged. Therefore, the whole physical process of going to a bookshop has been transformed along with the intellectual process. The spatial arrangement of the shops has been design to accommodate this.

The bookstores on Chung-Hsiao East Road have experienced the direct impact of the capitalization and modernization of the urban development since the 1970s. They have increased dramatically in number since the business development of this area.

Hsin-Sha-Yu Bookstores, I-Lin Bookstores, King Stone Bookstores and E'slite Bookstores are good examples.<sup>65</sup> (Fig. 43)



The different spatial arrangements in bookstores, which have been designed in different periods, reveal changing relationships between consumers and society. For example, the King Stone Bookstores represents the modern influence of the 1980s.<sup>66</sup> Its space is standardized, simplified, and is the first chain bookstore with the concept of 'a department store for books.' Its point of sales system (POS) conveniently provides the sales information, and its use of computer catalogues demonstrates the application of new technology. It sells not only books, but stationery, gifts and clothes. The display arrangement and interior decor is mostly unified with other branches in order to maintain its corporate image. The display and circulation within the interior space aims for an efficient sales system and clear arrangement of stock. (Fig. 44)

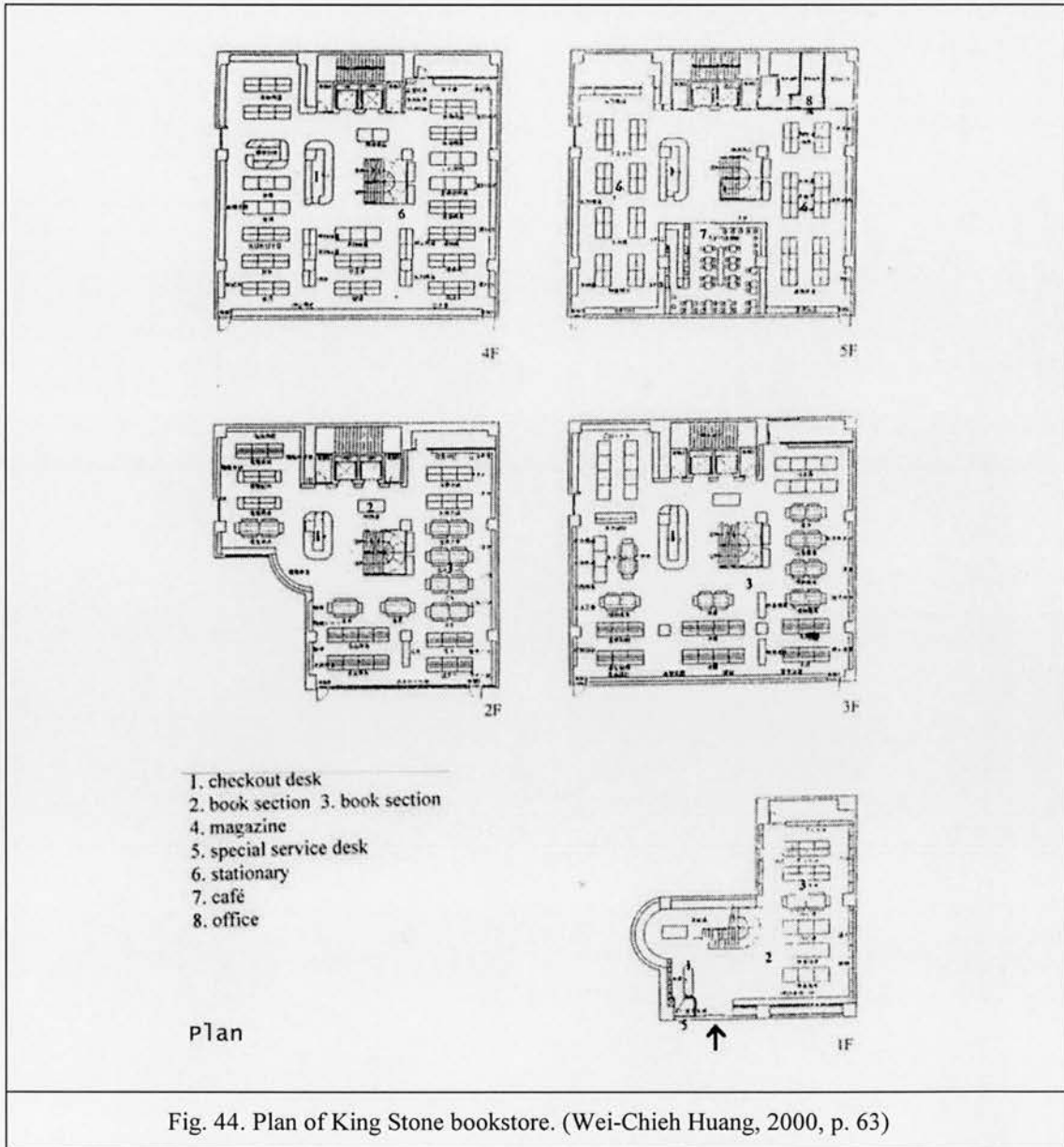
The central stairway combines the checkout desk with the major circulation link. The first floor displays magazines, new books and best-sellers. The second floor displays literature and computing books. The third floor displays art, children's and travel books. The fourth and fifth floors sell stationery, gifts and also contains a café.<sup>67</sup> The diverse range of products represents the revolution in bookstores, where books are a

65 Wei-Chieh Huang, *The Spatial Transition of the Letterings- Narratives on the Vicissitude of the Appearance of bookstores in Taipei*, (Master thesis, Tung-Hai University, Taichung, 2000), p. 70.

66 The first King Stone Bookstores was set up in 1983. Ibid., p. 56.

67 Ibid., pp. 62-63.

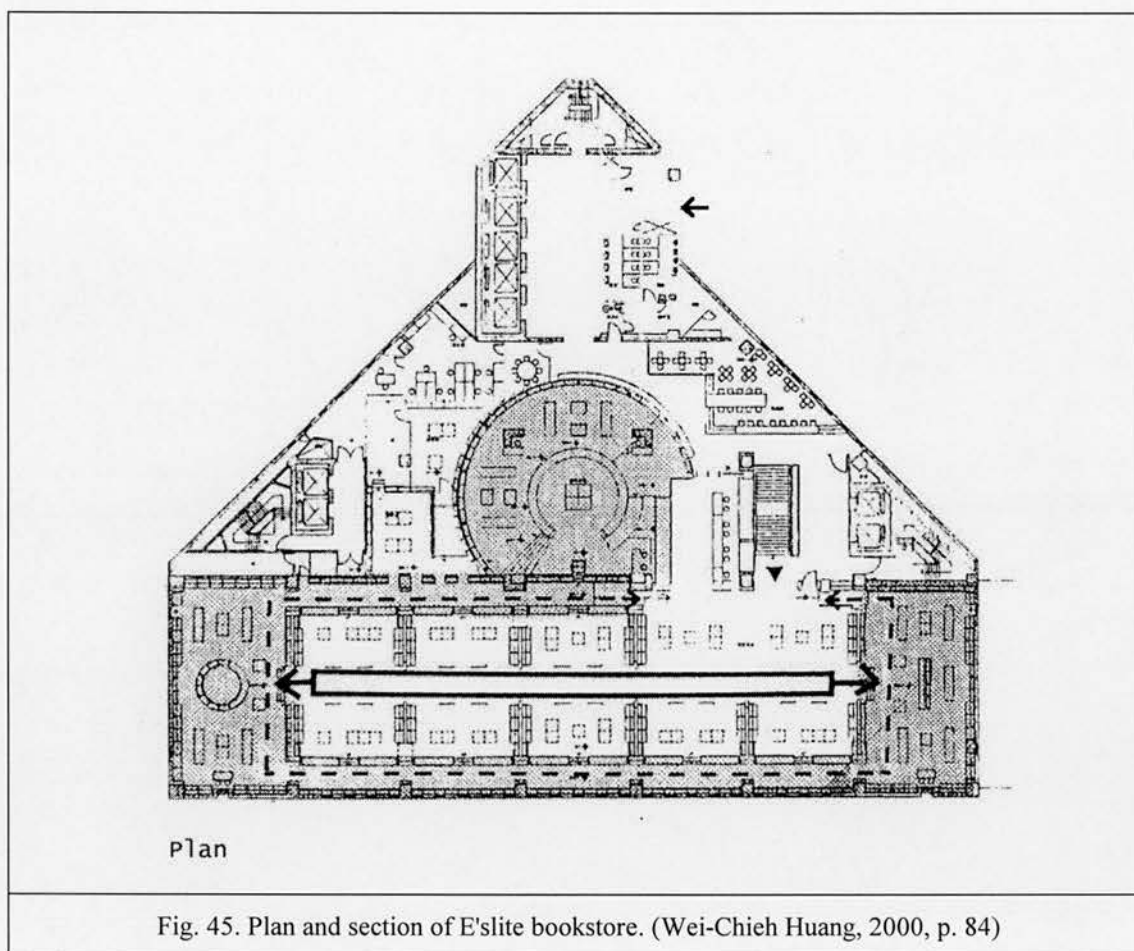
mass-market product and shopping a leisure activity. Streetscape becomes a stage for mass consumption while it ritualises consumption of products and commercial space.



Moreover, the E'slite bookstore has enhanced the cultural image of book selling. The theme of its interior design presents the bookstore as a stage that provides various leisure activities, entertainment, and information. It combines art information, fashion, film, music, and food to create a metropolitan atmosphere within a specific architectural space. For instance, the designer uses different floor levels to separate the categories of books and create a semi-enclosed space for reading.<sup>68</sup> Its indoor café

<sup>68</sup> E'slite Bookstore, *Interior*, No. 48, 1996, pp. 84-91.

overlooks the main stairway and book sections, forming an observation balcony. (Fig. 45)

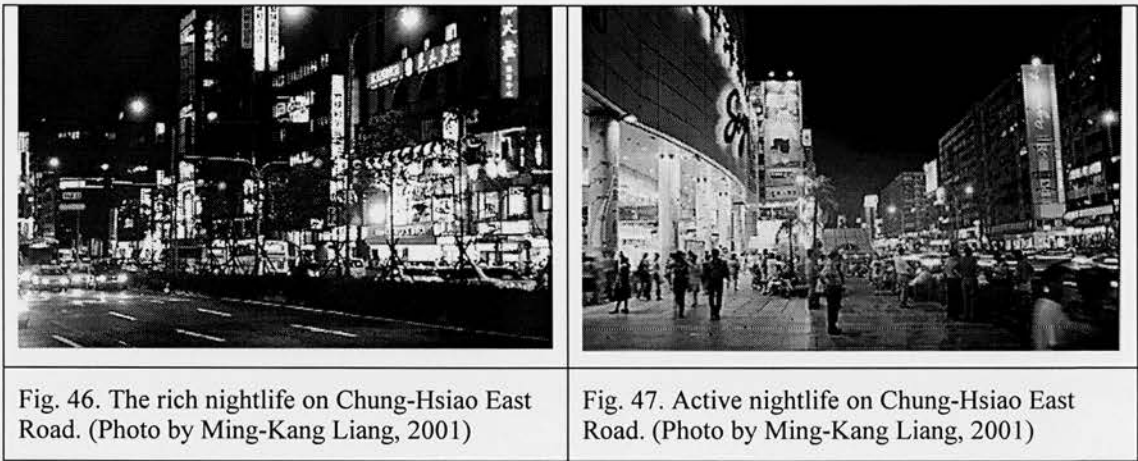


The space here is not only for the display of books, but also for consumption of the space itself. In addition, the open space in front of the entrance has held public activities, such as concerts, book fairs and other events. The E'slite has created a social space of cultural activity, and has become a landmark on the cultural map of Taipei, since the 1990s.<sup>69</sup> King Stone and E'slite, express spatially the transition to commodity culture and the gentrification of the streetscape around Chung-Hsiao East Road. In addition, the increasing number of galleries and cafés all promote cultural consumption and the gentrified image of the East District.

In 1999, E'slite became the first 24-hour bookstores in Taiwan. This was the result of the popular nightlife on Chung-Hsiao East Road. This area is even more crowded



after the shops and department stores close because of the nightclubs, restaurants, KTVs and street vendors.<sup>70</sup> At night, the colourful bright light from advertising signs, street lamps and buildings creates a lively and distinctive impression of floating lights. (Fig. 46-47)



This is a 24-hour street and dehistoricised streetscape. Chung-Hsiao East Road hosts a series of Christmas events in December while in the following month it celebrates Chinese New Year. One day, a Taiwanese Beer Festival is celebrated with traditional handcraft stalls, street performances and promotion on a temporarily pedestrianised An-Ho Road, while the next day the street is returned to the car drivers.<sup>71</sup> The sense of place and the meaning of these events are superficial and fragmented as they aim to provide entertainment to attract consumers.

In contrast to Chung-Hsiao East Road, Ti-Hua Street’s commercial activities are based on a cultural and historical heritage. Therefore, the appearance of Ti-Hua Street is transformed more or less according to the expectations of the residents, and it has affected their daily life significantly. However, it is difficult to see the same connection between the community and its commercial relationship in Chung-Hsiao East Road because most of the interactions here are merely impersonal economic contacts between individuals. This explains the reason for the endless changing commodities, shop windows displays, conflicting billboards and the disappearance of

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69 Wei-Chieh Huang, *The Spatial Transition*, P. 97.  
 70 Most of the department stores and shops closed at 11:00 pm.  
 71 The Taiwan Beer Festival was held on An-Ho Road on 22 May 1999.

local characteristics. The flourishing consumer culture of Taipei creates a shopping street which functions as public space, precisely because public space is limited. Chung-Hsiao East Road is not only the product of commodity fetishism but also in need for everyday social practices.

#### **4.4-2 Body Movement**

The movement of the body constantly defines and orients its own position in space. Its gestures are in reality the representation of a very complex symbolic world. For example, in a dance, body movement usually represent the aesthetic, social, and political orders of the human world.<sup>72</sup> A similar approach can be applied to the movement on streets; the moving patterns of the human bodies in space reveal the social and political changes.

The mobility of the body has been dramatically changed by transportation. When cars become dominant in contemporary cities, the streetscape adapts to this change and adopts the car culture. The streetscape in Chung-Hsiao East Road is dominated by the influence of American car culture. Its wide layout and grid system laid the foundation for the Westernised streetscape. (Fig. 48) However, the over-developed commercial use causes a serious parking problem around this area. Parking has become the nightmare for customers as well as local residents. (Fig. 49)

Since 1992, the underground construction of the Taipei MRT (Mass Rapid Transit) has changed the pattern of movement here. The Metro viaducts change the city form and direct pedestrian orientation. (Fig. 50-51)

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72 Lefebvre states, "In a dance, the institutionalised and codified gestures are performed in an articulated way, linking physical space with the space of the body. The biological body is enacting a system of symbols, which usually represent the human wish to have the ethical, social and political orders of the human world co-exist in harmony with the cosmic order." Kwok Yan Chi Jackie, "Space, Time and Rhythm: A Preliminary Study on the Theories of Space and Rhythm by Henri Lefebvre (1901-1991)," in ed., Kwok Yan Chi Jackie, *The Production*, p. 13.



Fig. 48. The wide layout of the road and the Westernized streetscape. (Photo by author, 2000)



Fig. 49. The busy traffic on Chung-Hsiao East Road. (Photo by author, 2000)



Fig. 50. The Chung-Hsiao Fu-Hsin Metro Station Taipei MRT. (Photo by author, 2001)

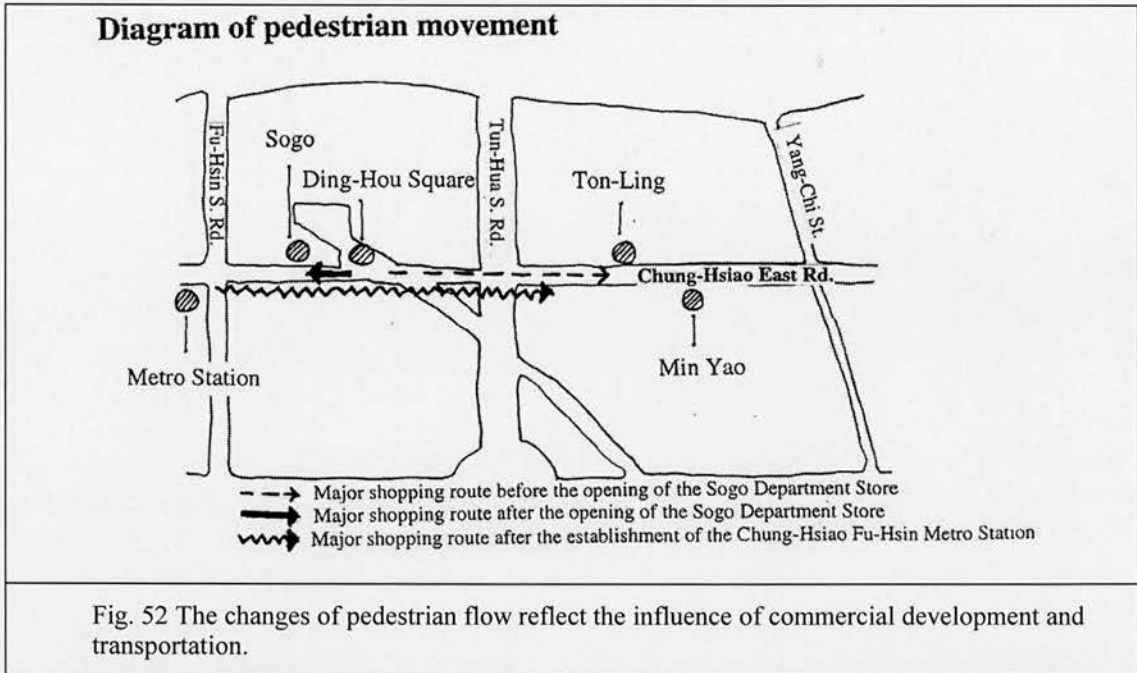


Fig. 51. One of the entrances to MRT on Chung-Hsiao East Road where people gather. (Photo by author, 2001)

Combined with the attraction of department stores, the major direction of pedestrian flow has moved back and forth between Fu-Hsin South Road and Yang-Chi Street several times. (Fig. 52) For example, before the establishment of the Sogo Department Store, the shopping route started from the Ding-Hou Square, Dragon Door Market and continued towards the east side of Ton-Ling Department Store and Min Yao Department Store.<sup>73</sup> After the opening of the Sogo Department Store, the regular shopping route has turned back from Ding-Hou Square toward the west to Sogo. The most recent influence is from the Chung-Hsiao Fu-Hsin Metro Station. It renews the shopping direction from the east to Sogo, Ding-Hou Square, and to the

<sup>73</sup> Ding-Hou Square is the main bus stop on this road, and the bus was the major form of public transportation before the Taipei MRT.

further distant Ton-Lin and Ming Yao Department Stores. A combination of transportation and commercial attractions control the mobility of the street.



Because of the attraction of those multi-culture retail shops in the small lanes, pedestrian movement spreads into the alleys and small lanes behind the major road. Among these small lanes, the different interests of user' groups cause conflict, such as parking, vendors and noise. However, there are no adequate public facilities, such as wide sidewalks, or parking spaces, to accommodate these flourishing businesses. Therefore, the body experience of these pedestrian is not always of a safe and leisurely 'street ballet' but rather an interrupted adventure ride.<sup>74</sup> This mobility represents a social conflict between different user groups in space.

#### 4.4-3 Social Mobility

Shopping streets have the character of public space in allowing people to move freely in and out of shops, and generate social relations. Chung-Hsiao East Road thus represents social mobility within the tangle of State, capitalist and citizen. Mumford has suggested this sociality of street space.

<sup>74</sup>Jane Jacobs, "The Uses of Sidewalks: Safety," from *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* (1961), reprinted in eds., Richard T. LeGates and Frederic Stout, *The City Reader*, pp. 107-108.

"...[I]n the medieval town, the upper classes and lower classes had jostled together on the street, in the marketplace, as they did in the cathedral: the rich might ride on horseback, but they must wait for ... the blind beggar groping with his stick to get out of the way."<sup>75</sup>

This public aspect and equality of street space are also encouraged by Kostof.

"[T]he essentials of public space [is] a universal urban trait... cities of every age have seen fit to make provision for open places that would promote social encounters and serve the conduct of public affairs"<sup>76</sup>.

This social characteristic of streets reflects the interactions between users. These various social factors led to the constant alterations of streetscape. Chung-Hsiao East Road has been the stage for political demonstrations, community events, and commercial festivals of invented new tradition. The political and media liberation after 1987 encouraged the social movements to construct the identity among the collective space where people could express their struggle, or liberation, and it reflected the emancipation of politics. For example, an unequal development has made a duality of lifestyle in Taipei City that reflects on the streetscape between the area around Chung-Hsiao East Road and Ti-Hua Street.<sup>77</sup> This gentrified district was thus chosen as the site for the 'Shell-less Snail' demonstration symbolising this unequal development.

The 'Shell-less Snail' demonstration of tenants on 26th August 1989 turned Chung-Hsiao East Road into a temporary public space. (Fig. 53-54)

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<sup>75</sup> Lewis Mumford, *The City in History*, p. 370.

<sup>76</sup> Spiro Kostof, *The City Assembled: the Elements of Urban Form through History*, (London: Thames & Hudson, 1992), p. 123.

<sup>77</sup> Chung-Hsiao East Road displays a gentrified consumer culture from the high-rise building style, to its fashion shops and international chain restaurants. This area formulates an image of modernity for Taipei and a showcase for international consumption. Hsu-Cheng Tseng, *The Urbanization*, p. 169.





Fig. 53. The 'Shell-less Snail' demonstration on 26th August 1989, tenants slept on Chung-Hsiao East Road. (Chu-Joe Hsia, 1994, p. 29)



Fig. 54. Protesters organized activities and sold souvenirs to gain public attention and support. (Chu-Joe Hsia, 1994, p. 36)

Thousands of people protested against private-dominated accelerating housing prices, and the powerlessness of government policy in this most expensive area of Taipei. These demonstrators purposely chose this elite area to highlight their plight by contrast with the affluence of that street. Protesters brought sleeping bags to camp out overnight on this road. They organized festival type activities such as plays, fireworks, sound-systems, TV screens and souvenir stands.<sup>78</sup> Mass media helped to create the temporary festival atmosphere which reawakened a sense of public space. The street turned into a theatre of life where people expressed their emotion and complained to the authorities. This event had symbolic meaning in terms of social movement because it fought against the capital dominated and powerless government through the collective action of citizens. Chung-Hsiao East Road provides the best stage for protesters, as it is the focus of media, fashion, affluence and authority. However, no trace of the protest remains. All of the sensual and emotional experiences and temporary objective realm from those medias are vanished as fragments of a forgotten past.

In addition, civic participation, which has become part of the life of the street, influences policy making, by a sense of community empowerment. The current streetscape of Chung-Hsiao-East Road is thus the outcome of a succession of social and political movements as well as capitalist development.

The Metropolitan Development Association (MDA), for example, has lead several regional improvements plans for Chung-Hsiao East Road, such as, the Ding-Hou Project. This project includes the improvement plan of pedestrian sidewalks on the fourth section of Chung-Hsiao East Road and An-Ho Road, the plan of the Fu-Den underground parking lot, the redevelopment plan of obsolete railroad tracks and the improvement plan for the environment of the MRT.<sup>79</sup> (Fig. 55-56)

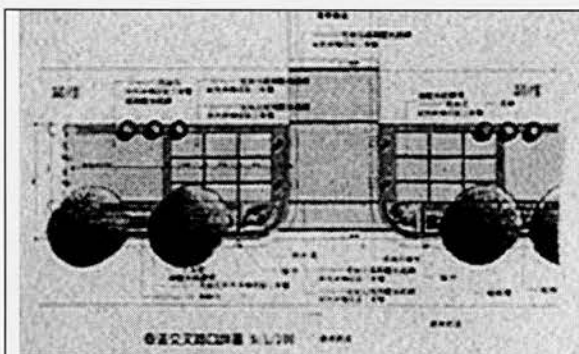


Fig. 55. The plan of Ding-Hou Project to improve pedestrian access. (Taipei City Government, 1998, p. 47)

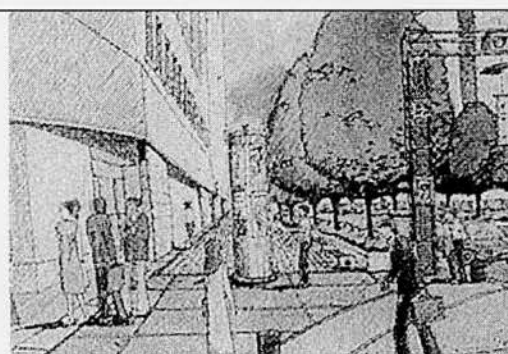


Fig. 56. The perspective of Ding-Hou Project showing the improvement plan on the pedestrian sidewalk on section 4 of Chung-Hsiao East Road. (Taipei City Government, 1998, p. 12)

It also joined hands with shops and stores of the East District to hold public events, such as an Art Festival in September 1995, Christmas Fairs in December 1996 and 1997 and so on. As a privately founded organization, the MDA enthusiastically and actively involves private enterprise and professionals as well as the government in those projects. Its projects and events reflect the constant power struggle between state, capitalist and citizen. For instance, the planned air vents for the MRT were very large and numerous which would have decreased the area of sidewalk and disturbed the business of the shops along the Chung-Hsiao Road.<sup>80</sup> The MDA worked on this issue together with local shops to negotiate with the MRT and finally the number and height of these air vents was decreased. It seems that civic participation is a possible

78 Hsia Chu-Joe, *Public Space*, (Taipei: Artist Publisher, 1994), pp. 29-38.

79 See pp. 188-189 above.

80 According to the MRT development plan, there were 29 air vents on the Section 4 of Chung-Hsiao East Road for the underground passages. MDA organized public events to oppose to this idea as they damaged the streetscape and businesses of this area, and they finally decreased the amount and size of these air vents. *Da-Cheng Daily News*, 17 February 1995.

way to oppose the authority of the government and enhance the sense of community for this highly commercialised district.

These events record the social mobility in space, where the power of politics and knowledge interact with the participation of citizen and professional. This mobilisation of social politics confirms Soja's call to construct social identity on the commercial streets of the city. This shows the street as a public space reshaped as an artefact of a collective passion that binds society. This can embrace civic protest, regimented consensual ceremonies, and leisure activities.

## **Conclusion**

Capitalism, and the political and media-driven shift towards a consumer culture have substantially changed the nature of retail space, and dominated the formulation of the streetscape of Taipei. Underneath the homogeneously internationalised city-form, the senses of authenticity and identity still exist in the social interaction between the life of inhabitants and their environment. This situation is clearly demonstrated in the development of Chung-Hsiao East Road. Here, there is no clear boundary between authenticity and inauthenticity; the reference depends on the framework we have developed, based upon the condition of authenticity and social space by which we examine our streetscape.

The streetscape of Chung-Hsiao East Road asserts its authenticity by the simulation of streetscape. "Authenticity" here is expressed by the simulation of both the West and local culture, as a social reflection of political and global economic impacts combined with the inhabitants' body experience. It embodies a sense of "movement" in the ever-changing streetscape and reveals the rhythms of a dynamic city.

From the observation of Chung-Hsiao East Road, we see space formed in response to modernity in conflict with people's life style and in contradiction to planning regulation. The development of Taipei after 1945 was under particular political and social influences that are reflected in its spatial structure, which is a typical of democratic, economic orientated development. The changes of streetscape and spatial relationships, towards a form orientated consumer culture show the impact of rapid economic growth in the 1970's and 1980's by international trade and the state hegemony. By means of the above observation, we come to understand how the influential factors of city form are operated through: capital, transportation, urban planning, building regulation, construction technique and material, and life-style attitudes among different social groups. The economic success of Taipei's immigrants encourages and stimulates cultural consumption on this street. This results in gentrified space and attempts to recreate the identity of place. The energetic character of Taipei's immigrants, who seek economic success, is the force behind the

almost 24-hour business life of the ever-changing cityscape. It is this life energy that gives a possibility of “authenticity” to Taipei.

Thus, the modern Chung-Hsiao East Road, with its Westernised and unified streetscape, apparently so “inauthentic”, is actually the real result of contemporary forces. The changing relationship between users and urban space is reflected in the transformation of this road, in its building styles, consumption patterns, signs, and the movement and experiences of its people. Urban space is surely not only a static reflection of a social structure in a specific era. Social structure provides a framework, but the meaning of the space is interpreted by dynamic human individuals. These retail spaces are the “lived space” of Lefebvre that concretise the social relations of everyday life. This is how “authenticity” survives in the contemporary city. Thus, we must acknowledge that there is always the possibility of discovering authenticity in the contemporary city- if only we know how to find and respond to it.



## Conclusion

### **The criteria of Authenticity: Constructing a Bridge between Spatial Theory and the Real World**

The consequence of my definition of “authenticity” in contemporary Asian cities allows us to break out of a simplistic impression about cities under the influence of globalisation or Westernisation. Even though a cityscape such as Taipei, which does much to represent Harvey’s “time-space compression” (1989) and with an “authenticity” that is difficult to identify, has its individuality constructed out of particular constellation of social relations. What I seek in this analysis is not a single essential identity of “authenticity.” Instead of being commonly mistaken as an obsession with the past, or manipulation by Westernisation, it is necessary to recognize and understand how it occurs within the city. Thus the criteria of “authenticity” are important for our urban observation in order to articulate the identity of place within a global-local hybrid cityscape. Without these criteria and analyses, notions of authenticity can fall back on the risk of reactionary nationalisms and competitive localisms. Social perspectives are deployed and helpful for us to understand:

“The uniqueness of a place, or a locality, in other words is constructed out of particular interactions and mutual articulations of social relations, social processes, experiences and understandings, in a situation of co-presence, ...”<sup>1</sup>

This unique character describes the definition of “authenticity” which I have clarified through the preceding discussion, the context and difficulty of urban observation, and the reading of cityscape. My proposal for determining “authenticity” in cityscape is through a study of social interactions. “Authenticity” here is defined as a spatial reflection of the lived experience of the city’s inhabitants. This is an attempt to reveal social change in space rather than provide a fixed statement. My argument is that, “authenticity” in a contemporary city can be analysed qualitatively through social

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<sup>1</sup> Doreen Massey, “Power-Geometry and a progressive sense of place,” in eds., Jon Bird, B. Curtis, T. Putnam, G. Robertson and L. Tickner, *Mapping the Futures- Local Cultures, Global Change*, (London, New York: Routledge, 1993), p. 66.

space by using four criteria: the history of development, the memory of place, visual simulation and mobility within space. These criteria can lead to a deep understanding of contemporary cityscape that avoids the generalized image of globalised cityscape. This is particularly valuable when globalisation has transformed itself into different phases, as Anthony Giddens states,

“The first phase of globalisation was plainly governed, primarily, by the expansion of the West, and institutions which originated in the West. No other civilization made anything like as pervasive an impact on the world, or shaped it so much in its own image ... Although still dominated by Western power, globalisation today can no longer be spoken of only as a matter of one-way imperialism ... increasingly there is no obvious ‘direction’ to globalisation at all and its ramifications are more or less ever present.”<sup>2</sup>

Since the contemporary city has been dramatically shaped by this globalising tendency, including new media and computer technologies, we need perspectives that articulate the intersection of technology, culture and everyday life. The criteria of authenticity provide a practical framework of urban observation with their focus on the intersection between history, memory, visual image and mobility, which suggest readable codes for our interpretation. This includes the investigation of a wide range of artefacts and interrogating their relationship in different dimensions.

“But in terms of the experience and creation of places authenticity rarely appears in such a pure form—instead it is discontinuous and occurs with different levels of intensity.... in which there is a genuine response to the meanings, symbols and qualities of a place and an attempt to identify with it, is more possible. Indeed it is this relationship that must be encouraged if we are to begin to see and appreciate places for what they are, and not

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2 Anthony Giddens, “Living in a Post-traditional Society”, in eds., U. Beck, A. Giddens and S. Lash, *Reflexive Modernization*, (Cambridge: Policy Press, 1994), p. 96.

in terms of mass values, or technical and intellectual attitudes and conventions.”<sup>3</sup>

Thus “authenticity” is recognisable by what is relevant to people’s lives and that which determines the city form. This proposal involves several suggestions. First, “authenticity” in cityscape is a reference system for understanding the changing society. This reference system evokes people’s bodily experience in space. “Authentic” spaces are those which, “within them, whether they are physical or social or spiritual, people escape prevailing constraints and can behave spontaneously, truthfully, in accordance with what they feel to be their real nature.”<sup>4</sup> This bodily confidence and movement requires a self-identity within history, society and the environment. It is connected with life experience and memory.

Moreover, “authenticity” in cityscape is found in social interactions that articulate a process of historical development. It reveals itself in a reaction against both homogeneity and the imposition of globalisation. By deploying this social aspect to illuminate the full dimensions of the dynamic city, one should be able to avoid a static or fixed preconception while observing our cityscape. The fieldwork that I have presented here is intended to demonstrate conclusively the nature of authenticity of Taipei. For, clearly, it is inconceivable that several centuries of complex development can be fully analysed in few pages. Rather, this fieldwork should be seen as illustrative of the types of urban observation that demonstrate how authenticity originates, develops and reproduces itself in a city.

“Every city at any period of history has a complex story inscribed in its pattern. The wise designer today is a reader of stories, and not merely a consumer of patterns.”<sup>5</sup> Here I have suggested a practical framework of urban observation which is valid for city readers to recognize the authenticity on streets. This search for “authenticity” is

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3 Relph Edward, *Place and Placelessness*, p. 78.

4 Neal Ascherson, “Reflections on International Space”, *London Review of Books*, 24 May 2001, p. 10.

5 Spiro Kostof, “Urbanism and Polity: Medieval Siena in Context,” *ILA & U*, [n.d.], p. 73.

important because it is that which helps us to retain a sense of identity despite the transformation of urban environment.

The cityscape of Taipei represents a common challenge for Asian cities, that is how to retain 'Asian-ness' throughout advances in technology and progress as Richard Hu, Singapore's former-Minister for Finance, described:

"We need not to apologetic when our new cities are either different from typical Western city planning paradigms, or are modern and high-tech instead of traditional... As Asians, we can be proud to be outwardly progressive and modern provided our social values remain uniquely Asian. This modern outlook, when fused with our inherent Asian values can create a dynamic spirit that can be channelled towards making our cities function well and yet cater to the demands of modern economies."<sup>6</sup>

His reference to "Asian-ness" highlights the importance of a social spirit similar to what I propose as authenticity in this thesis. It is a social value rather than static characteristic. Every city, during its transformation, should retain such social authenticity in order to find continuity in today's fragmented cityscape. By doing so, the social values of the Taiwanese are evoked allowing us to see through the apparently placeless cityscape of Taipei.

The analysis on these two streets of Taipei shows the contemporary cityscape is the genuine result of contemporary economic, social and cultural forces. The form and content of the historical Ti-Hua Street and the modern Chung-Hsiao East Road, which have resulted from the process of Westernisation, are reflected in the spatial structure and social life of these commercial streets.

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<sup>6</sup> Richard Hu, "An Asian Approach to Building Asian Cities," speech delivered at the opening of Arcasia's Forum 8, Westin Hotel, November 27, 1995. Cited in I-Shin Chow, "Ghosts in the City", *Proceedings of Great Asian Streets Symposium: "Public Space 2002"*, 25-26 July 2002, (Singapore: CASA), p. 116.

In this observation of Ti-Hua Street, including the business of traditional food, active religious events, architectural details and the close relationship between shop owners, customers and neighbours, which were once applauded as a proud survival of native culture under colonial oppression, are now claimed to be the authentic characteristic of modern urban space. The old lifestyle and consumption habits are echoed by the inhabitants' lives today, even though they have been inevitably influenced by the persuasiveness of marketing. They show a sort of social "authenticity" which persists in the historical form of the street and its commercial activities.

As we have seen in the example of Chung-Hsiao East Road, the modern development of Taipei is dominated by capitalist ideology, which restructures its cultural practices and reshapes the contemporary cityscape towards a homogenous and international commercial one. This modern streetscape symbolises the structural change of a city. The reasons for this change are not only the political and economic development but also rather a complex ideology involving history, memory, visual image and social mobility. Chung-Hsiao East Road is one of the prime examples of capitalist modernity that is fragmented and unequal developed, composed of a mosaic of various cultures, yet it is marked by its individuality. The streetscape is inscribed with unequal social structure and the city development plan. It represents the cityscape as the reflection of a way of life. Although the simulation of the West has made the streetscape of Chung-Hsiao East Road an architectural masquerade, the social performances of which are "authentic" reflections of urban life.

In fact, none of these places have been innocent of power struggles. Government, capital and civic empowerment have been involved in this conflict. This analysis has shown that "authenticity" is rooted not only in visible architecture, street pattern, commodities and signs, but also in invisible ambition, desire, and the sense of identity. These social factors nourish the city itself, in its history, memory, visual image and movement, and thus "authenticity" develops its spatiality. However, through the above analysis, the fragments of commercialised streets can serve as the gateway to the cityscape through the appropriate connection with the criteria of authenticity.



Taipei, analysed using this framework, reveals these essential social interactions through the form and content of streets. What is consistent in these observations is that social authenticity exists in the interaction between inhabitants and cityscape. For example, the energetic character of Taipei's immigrants, who seek economic success, is the force behind the almost 24 hour business life of modern streets as well as the long opening hours of old streets. The two representative streets demonstrate historical transformation and the imposition of consumer culture, which share the rhythms of a dynamic city. They provide an authentic living experience between people's actions in history, memory, visual image and their mobility within space. Authenticity in cityscape has the character of the modernity that:

“...[E]merges as a struggle, critical tension or even break with its forebears. At the same time, it is argued that which is comprehended as modern [recall authenticity], while opening a gap between its own instance and the past, still bears traces of that past in its own thinking.”<sup>7</sup>

It has been demonstrated that, although modernity and capitalism dominate the production of contemporary streetscape, “social authenticity” has survived in parallel with this dominance and connected the present and the past. As places can be experienced in differing intensities of “authenticity” which depends on the relationship between people and places, so they can be created with varying degrees of “authenticity.” The probability of authentic cityscape may have declined, but the possibility and the need for genuine self-expression in places still exists. During this transformation process, physical authenticity is easily overlooked but social authenticity is retained so long as there is a proper emphasis on the nature of everyday social practice. This argument in favour of a notion of authenticity that insists on the central role of social perspective, involves accepting a strong form of economic determinism in Taipei and the lived experience of its inhabitants.

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7 Julian Wolfreys, Ruth Robbins and Kenneth Womack, eds., *Key Concepts in Literary Theory*, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2002), P. 56.

It would be a mistake to see this ever-changing cityscape only as a simulation of Western culture for it also contains fragments of the authentic local life stream. Authenticity manages to survive in the contemporary city by associating with its determinants, and still “What is significant in the experience of non-place is its power of attraction, inversely proportional to territorial attraction, to the gravitational pull of place and tradition.”<sup>8</sup> Authenticity is possible in modern cities without much territorial attraction or the pull of place and tradition if their cityscape records the changing social conditions. Authenticity in contemporary cities represents a constant process of transformation of cityscape. It is as:

“Life streams on without interruption; its restless rhythm opposes the fixed duration of any particular form. Each cultural form, once it is created, is gnawed at varying rates by the forces of life. As soon as one is fully developed, the next begins to form; after a struggle that may be long or short, it will inevitably succeed its predecessor.”<sup>9</sup>

This social authenticity is the existing form of “authenticity” in contemporary cities. As globalisation, Westernisation, capital or politics cannot give a single explanation for our present cityscape, I trust that my analysis have provided an accessible interpretation of authenticity in today’s cityscape.

It seems inevitable that cultural homogenisation will be the central feature of global modernity, which in a sense means that the diversity and richness of global culture is threatened.<sup>10</sup> It is certainly what has happened in Taipei and many other emerging metropolises. However, it is difficult to decide whether cultural homogenisation is an entirely 'destructive process' destroying the diversity of cultural systems or if it might actually contribute to the enrichment of culture by forcing cultural systems to respond and adapt to the spread of global capitalism. In a way, modern Taiwan's assimilation into global capitalist culture has collapsed the borders of national

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8 Marc Augé, *Non-places: Introduction to an Anthropology of Supermodernity*, trans. John Howe (London & New York: Verso, 1995), p.119.

9 The work of Georg Simmel is quoted by David Frisby in *Fragments of Modernity*, p. 1.

10 John Tomlinson, *Cultural Imperialism*, (London: Verso, 1998), pp. 108-113.

cultural identity. Therefore, it sometimes simply restructures different cultural practices within a single cultural pattern. This, in a sense, is a kind of colonisation of other cultural identities. It is what we see on most of modern streets which are colonized by Western culture and it evokes the desire to identify authentic cityscape.

Streets have been always played an important role in the social and cultural life of the Taiwanese. Although they symbolise the control of the authorities, they are places for people, as religious events, festivals, street vendors and community meetings create an active street life. Thus the practice of identifying authenticity in the streetscape of Taipei provides a way to recognize these social factors and the connection between public action and urban space. When practical planning techniques from the West cannot prevent the loss of character from contemporary cities, a framework of urban observation can establish criteria of “authenticity” to suggest some principal components for urban design, and lead our understanding towards social “authenticity.”

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Wei-Ping Lu, Senior Planner, Division of Urban Design, Bureau of Urban Development, Taipei City Government. (4 July 1997 and 12 February 1998).



## Appendix 1

### Publications and awards arising from the thesis

#### 1. Conference Papers

- *"From Places to Non-Places- The Possibility of Authenticity in the Streetscape of Taipei,"* The Second Great Asian Streets Symposium: "Public Space 2002", The National University of Singapore, Singapore, July 25-26, 2002.
- *"Authenticity in the Metropolis- A View from the Streetscape of Taipei,"* The Second Savannah Symposium: Authenticity in Architecture, The Savannah College of Art and Design, Savannah, Georgia, U.S.A, February 15-17, 2001.
- *"The City Tableau: Reading Cityscape from Streets,"* The Seventeen Annual Graduate Students of Art History Colloquium- The City Evoked: Representations of Urban Space, The University of Washington, Seattle, Washington, U.S.A, February 10, 2001.
- *"A Critical Evaluation of Public Square: Lessons from the Exchange Square, London,"* The Savannah Symposium on the City Square, The Savannah College of Art and Design, Savannah, Georgia, U.S.A, February 25-27, 1999.

#### 2. Publications

- *"From Places to Non-Places- The Possibility of Authenticity in the Streetscape of Taipei,"* *Proceedings of Great Asian Streets Symposium: Public Space 2002*, The National University of Singapore, Singapore, July, 2002, pp.187-200.
- *"A Critical Evaluation of Public Space: Lessons from Exchange Square, London,"* *Edinburgh Architecture Research*, (Volume 26, September 1999), pp. 105-132.

#### 3. Awards

- 2002 Conference Scholarship, Taipei Representative Centre in UK, London, UK.
- 2002 Conference Travel Award, The National University of Singapore, Singapore.
- 1999 Kress Foundation Fellowship, Savannah, Georgia, USA.
- 1999 Small Project Grants, University of Edinburgh Development Trust, UK.

#### 4. Abstracts

**Title:**

**From Places to Non-Places: The Possibility of Authenticity in the Streetscape of Taipei**

**Abstract:**

Shopping streets represent the best illustration of the conflict and renegotiation between globalisation and local culture in contemporary cities. They stimulate a dialogue between historicism and capitalism. Asian cities, such as Singapore, Hong Kong and Taipei, express the adoption of Western market economies and the trend toward political liberalisation and democratisation in their modern architecture and lifestyle. These cityscapes have undergone drastic urbanisation, which is made explicit by grid streets, multiple skyscrapers, and vast commercial spaces. These streets have become non-places because the characterless and unified commercial culture has dominated the production of urban space. However, their streetscape, which seems so “inauthentic” is actually the real result of contemporary economic, social and cultural forces. The simulation of the west and of the past creates the possibility of authenticity due to the decline of the real and the rise of nostalgia.<sup>1</sup> Nevertheless, the commercial streets of Asian cities are not only geographical structures that simulate the West, but also remain the sites of an authentic, localised urban life.

This paper examines one representative street, modern Chung-Hsiao East Road, in Taipei to investigate how the social, political, and economic changes that have resulted from the process of Westernisation is reflected in the spatial structure of the commercial street. Using historical analysis and a theoretical framework modelled on the spatial theories of Henri Lefebvre and Edward Soja, the complex spatiality of a rapidly-expanding Asian metropolis can be revealed.

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<sup>1</sup> Jean Baudrillard, “When the real is no longer what it used to be, nostalgia assumes its full meaning. There is a proliferation of myths of origin and signs of reality; of second-hand truth, objectivity and authenticity.” In ed., Mark Poster, *Selected Writings-Second Edition, Revised and Expanded*. (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2001), p. 174.

My focus on this street has been on the social space of streetscape as the evidence of authenticity in the production of the built environment. The streetscape of Chung-Hsiao East Road asserts its authenticity as a simulation of streetscape that is a social reflection of political and global economic impacts mixed with inhabitants' body experience.

Through this framework, the condition of authenticity is questioned from a social perspective in terms of the history of development, the memory of place, the visual simulation and the mobility in space, to see how the changes of the society have been reflected in the city. Even though Capitalism, and the political and media-driven shift towards a consumer culture have substantially changed the nature of selling space and dominated the formulation of streetscape in Taipei, Chung-Hsiao East Road, which represents social action and adaptation of theatrical themes on street as "a theatre of social action," embodies the sense of authenticity in this fascinating changing streetscape. These retail spaces are the lived space of Lefebvre that concretise the social relations of everyday life. Moreover, social movements such as civic participation have emerged to revive the authentic cityscape. This mobilization of social politics confirms Soja's call to construct social identity on the commercial streets. The energetic character of Taipei's immigrants who seek economic success is the force behind the nearly 24-hour business life of the ever-changing cityscape. "*What is significant in the experience of non-place is its power of attraction, inversely proportional to territorial attraction, to the gravitational pull of place and tradition.*"<sup>2</sup> This is how authenticity gets lost in the commercialised cityscape and it is also how authenticity gets to survive in the contemporary city, as a "myth of origin."

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2 Marc Augé, trans. By John Howe, *Non-places: Introduction to an Anthropology of Supermodernity*, (London & New York: Verso 1995), p. 119.

# Second Savannah Symposium: Authenticity in Architecture

## *The Representation of Place and Time*

Barnard Hall 104

Saturday, February 17, 2001

9:30 AM

Moderator: Judson Kratzer, Environmental Service, Inc., Savannah

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### *Authenticity in the Metropolis*

The historical Ti-Hua Street, Taipei, is an excellent example of authenticity in a cityscape that has experienced considerable political economic, social and spatial changes through globalize urbanization. This paper aims to introduce the production of streetscape in Taipei by its authenticity, regarding its social space. It attempts to analyze and interpret the cityscape of Taipei by a structured spatial theory, which redresses the unique ideologies of the streetscape from four approaches: 1) public space and its social relations, 2) Urban preservation and the politic of space, 3) Commerce and place making, and 4) Civic participation in different political periods.

Spatial conception varies across history and is rooted to physical and cultural geography. My approach explores authenticity in the streetscape with a view to understanding the historical and social factors that determined its form and content. The theoretical framework starts with approaches to read the cityscape. Then it explores authenticity in the contemporary cityscape and urban phenomena through and examination at the interaction between spatial theory and practical observation.

In this paper, I use the example of Ti-Hua Street to examine authenticity in a contemporary city that is enriched by historical, social and spatial contexts of the street. This urban observation I believe can explore authenticity in the cityscape of Taipei and help to construct authenticity in many other globalized cities.

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*A Critical Evaluation of Public Space: Lessons from the Exchange Square, London*

Gathering in public places is an aged human habit, and public squares thus have a long history. But spatial conception varies across time and is rooted to physical and cultural geography of places. The Piazza del Campo in Sienna for Example reflects the utilitarian city conceptualized by painters like Ambrogio Lorenzetti, the particular terrain, medieval conception of city, as well as the urban space consciousness of the Latin people.

The social politics of space today is different and it has been articulated brilliantly by authors like David Harvey, Richard Sennett, Beatrice Colomina and Edward Soja. This paper attempts to use their conceptions of urban landscape as a basis for a critical evaluation of a recently created public space, namely the Exchange Square, within Broadgate near Liverpool Street Station in the City of London.

Following the critical reviews on the above spatial theories, the main focus will be on the Exchange Square, a contemporary city square which represents a new mode of urban open space in London. Through the analysis of the Exchange Square, the validity of certain criteria of a successful city square will be established to assess the role of a city square today.

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# **The City Evoked: Representations of Urban Space**

**The seventeenth annual  
Graduate Students of Art History Colloquium**

Hsiao-Wei Lin

[University of Edinburgh]

**Title: The City Tableau: Reading Cityscape from Streets**

**Abstract:**

Asian cities, such as Singapore, Hong Kong and Taipei, express the adoption of Western market economies and the trend toward political liberalisation and democratisation in their modern architecture and lifestyle. These cityscapes have undergone drastic urbanisation explicated by grid streets, multiple skyscrapers and vast commercial spaces. Nevertheless, the commercial streets of Asian cities are not only geographical structures that simulate the West, but are also the sites of authentic, localised urban lives. This especially so in those historical streets which can be represented as city tableau whereby space can be read to explore sociality.

This paper examines a historical street, Ti-Hua Street, in Taipei to investigate how the social, political and economic changes, that have resulted from the process of Westernization, are reflected in the spatial structures of the commercial streets. Using historical, spatial and visual analysis, the complex spatiality of a rapidly expanding Asian metropolis can be revealed.

Tracing the historical development of such a street reveals that the city tableau is based on the recomposition and recombination of reality and representation. Similarly this may be hypothetically applied to explore the vision of the future cityscape. This retail space is the lived space of Lefebvre that concretises the social relations of everyday life. For example, the concept of urban preservation in this commercial street within a historic area shows the conflicts of politics, economy and memory in the formation of space. In addition, contemporary market forces combine with the historical form of the street arcade to create a sense of continuity in cityscape. Moreover, social movements such as civic participation have emerged to revive the life of the declining street. This mobilization of society confirms Soja's call to construct social identity on the commercial streets of the city.

**Saturday February 10, 2001  
Henry Art Gallery auditorium**

**School of Art  
University of Washington**

## Appendix 2

### **“Authenticity” as A Practical Concern of Urban Design in Taipei**

It seems inevitable that cultural homogenisation will be the central feature of global modernity, which in a sense means that the diversity and richness of global culture is threatened.<sup>1</sup> It is certainly what has happened in Taipei and many other emerging metropolises. The planning of Taipei has been influenced by the American system since the 1950s. As a result of this economically orientated planning, the development of the city has been determined by a quantitative approach rather than social considerations. In contrast, the framework of urban observation suggests criteria of authenticity that bring attention to the interactions between people and space in order to retain and create a sense of place. After more than fifty years of development, the city has seen concerted moves towards the privatisation of urban space and cultural practice. This privatisation of urban space can be seen from the investments of private/public space, such as reserved open space in front of buildings on Ching-Hsiao East Road and civic participation involving community space in Ti-Hua Street. Studies of emerging patterns of consumption and everyday creativity are crucial for the analysis of a changing society and its changing cityscape. These studies combined the available statistics and fieldwork give a solid base for the interpretation of cityscape and prevent it from falling back on vague statements.

With the analysis of authenticity, we see how Taipei's cityscape is formulated through history, memory, visual image and movement. Urban space should be rethought as social space for it reveals social factors that impact upon the making of urban space. Recently these social interactions have had a strong effect on the form and content of cityscape in various ways.

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<sup>1</sup> John Tomlinson, *Cultural Imperialism*, (London: Verso, 1998), pp. 108-113.

1. Community design projects since 1996:<sup>2</sup> The Improvement Plan of the Pedestrian Environment of the Yung-Kang Street Area successfully organised various resources including the local authority and national government to create a lively and healthy living community. Yung-Kang Street is a middle class residential area with mixed-use shops. Due to several conflicts between residents, shop owners, and peddlers, these problems evoke community identity and the determination to improve the pedestrian environment. The voluntary organisation, the Development Association of Yung-Kang Community, arranges public meetings, site surveys, and co-operates with the local school to carry out the urban design for this area. This plan deals with the improvement of pedestrian space, a car-parking plan, and a community park. (Fig. 1-2) Its experimental plan for making car free lanes in 1995 introduced such things as an exhibition of local planning, art performances, games and children's activities to promote the idea of a car-free zone.<sup>3</sup> However, although this idea of a car-free zone was abandoned due to the need for parking, civic participation has proved to be an essential ingredient in design process.

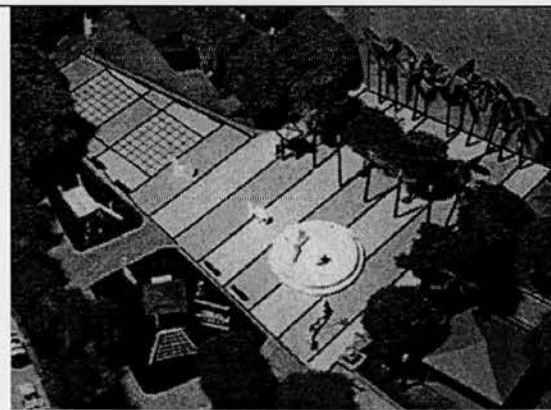


Fig. 1 The model of the Improvement Plan of the Pedestrian Environment of the Yung-Kang Street Area (1995). (UDDT, *Remaking the Neighbourhood Environment*, 1998, p. 45)



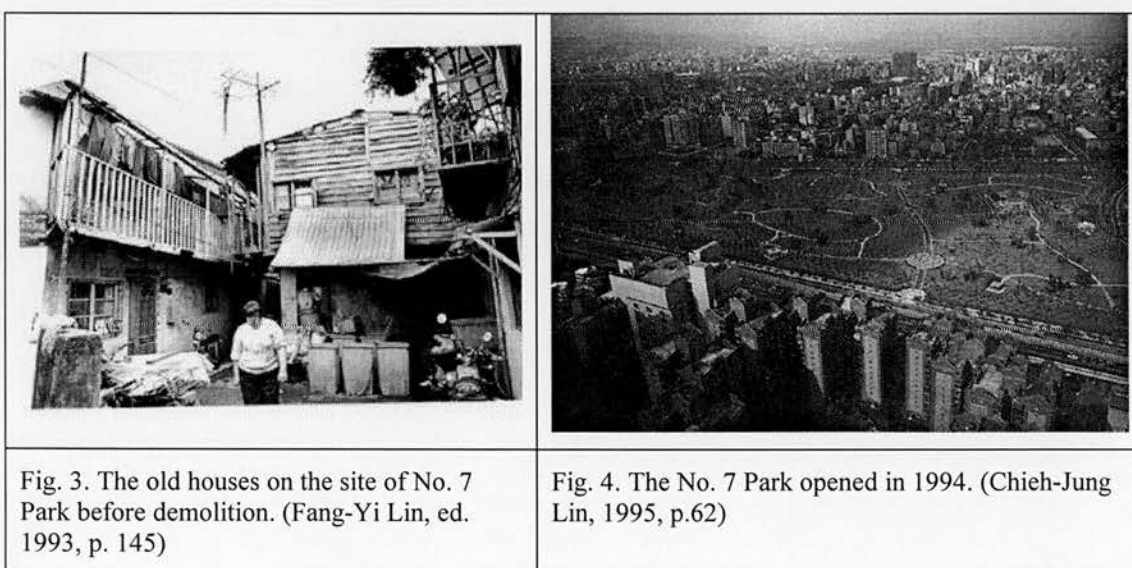
Fig. 2. Photo showing community activity associated with The Improvement Plan of the Yung-Kang Street Pedestrian Environment. (UDDT, *Remaking the Neighbourhood Environment*, 1998, p. 11)

<sup>2</sup> Urban Design Department, *Remaking the Neighbourhood Environment- a Municipal Programme to Promote Incremental Improvements through Community Participation* (1996). And *Remaking the Neighbourhood Environment- a Municipal Programme to Promote Incremental Improvements through Community Participation* (1997), (Taipei: UDDT, 1998).

<sup>3</sup> Chung-Chieh Lin, Yu-Chin Cheng, Hui-Ting Cheng, Wei-Ping Lu, eds., *Civic City*, (Taipei: Chuang-Hsun, 1996), pp. 165-166.

2. Public demonstrations demanding public space (e.g. No. 7 Park and No.14 &15 park):<sup>4</sup> The formulation of No. 7 Park at Hsin-I East Road highlights the social, political, and class issues concerning the public.<sup>5</sup>

This area was planned as a public park but occupied by a group of political migrants from the Mainland as temporary accommodation since 1949. Due to the uneven urban development and political negligence, this area was full of temporary buildings where unskilled workers lived. The compulsory purchase of land to create the public park was delayed until 1994 because of the difficulty in accommodating these people elsewhere. The creation of the park finally became a political imperative to demonstrate the power of the ruling KMT government during the election of Mayor in Taipei. The demolition of the existing housing provoked drastic actions by the inhabitants. They spoke with the voice of a working-class who struggled to live in the high-priced housing market in Taipei. This instance of producing public space reveals an intensive conflict between the government and its people, and between the public and the private sectors. The transformation from a place for temporary dwelling in the 50s to one for the leisure activities of the public indicates the changing social condition of the city and the dominant power of policy. (Fig. 3-4)



4 Jui-Mao Huang, "The Transformation of the Urban Design System and Urban Issues in Taiwan," in *City, Space, Design, Experience, Discourse*, (Taipei: Tamkang University & OURs, 1997). p. 7.

5 Chien-Jung Lin, *Urban Design in Cities of Taiwan*, (Taipei: Chung Hsun, 1996), pp. 84-91.

3. The reuse of historical buildings and squares for public activities (e.g. Capital Square, Ti-Hua Street): Urban preservation in Taipei can be illustrated by The Plan of Historic Capital Centre District adopting the development proposals made by MIT Urban Design Studio and Tamkang University in 1995.<sup>6</sup> Eleven decades ago the first planned pattern of streets, buildings, city walls and gates were set down for the development of the city in this area. (Fig. 5) They still serve important functions for the city today: its governance, its educational activities, its commercial vigour, and it serves as the political core of the city. The area now houses the most important collection of buildings representing the first few decades of city development. The area around the Presidential Hall is guarded by soldiers in casual clothes on the corner of street corners with a serious attitude.

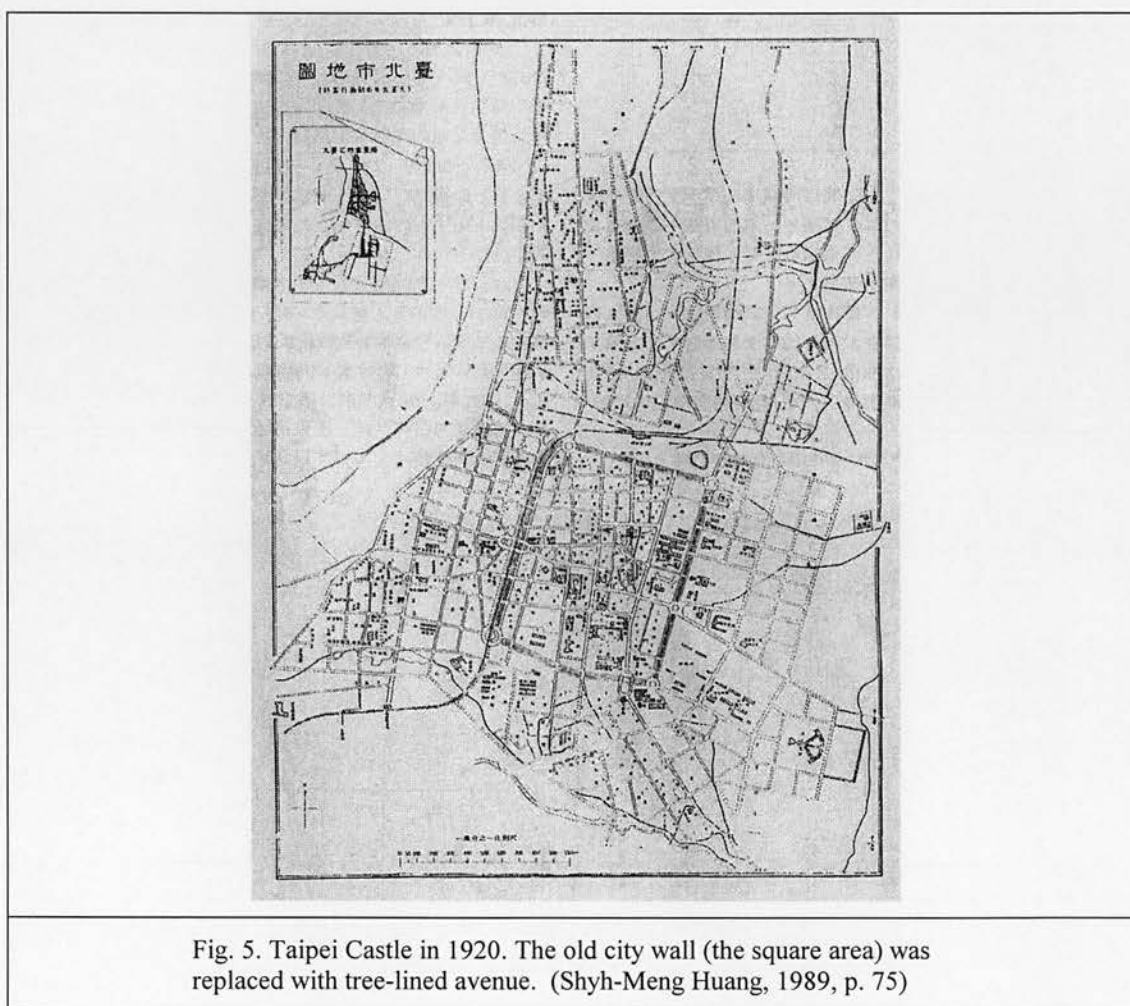


Fig. 5. Taipei Castle in 1920. The old city wall (the square area) was replaced with tree-lined avenue. (Shyh-Meng Huang, 1989, p. 75)

<sup>6</sup> Urban Design Department, *Planning Concept for Historical Preservation and Corporate Development in the Taipei Capital District*, (Taipei: UDDT, 1996), p. 26.



As such a special place it draws attentions and provokes conflicting ideas from policy makers, planners, investors and institutions all the time. Nevertheless, both planning proposals for the district mentioned earlier emphasise people's memory as an essential part of the planning and intend to create the network of public space used as the demonstration place of political hegemony. (Fig. 6) The plan also propose connecting streets and open space to preserve the historical image of this area as a place to be enjoyed by different groups of citizens of all classes, genders and races.<sup>7</sup> Urban preservation helps to re-evaluate the use of urban structure and formulates the place of attachment for citizens.

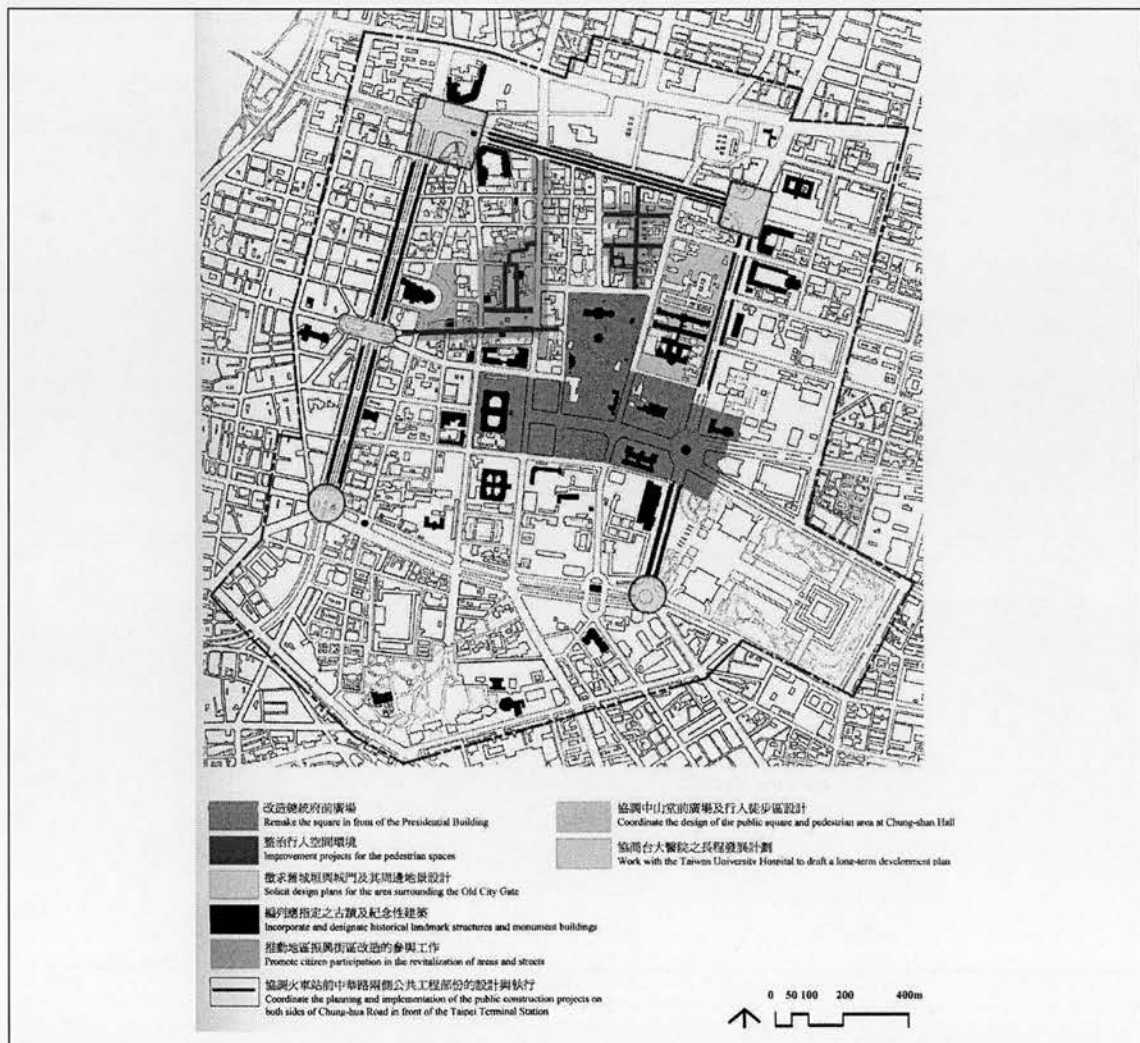
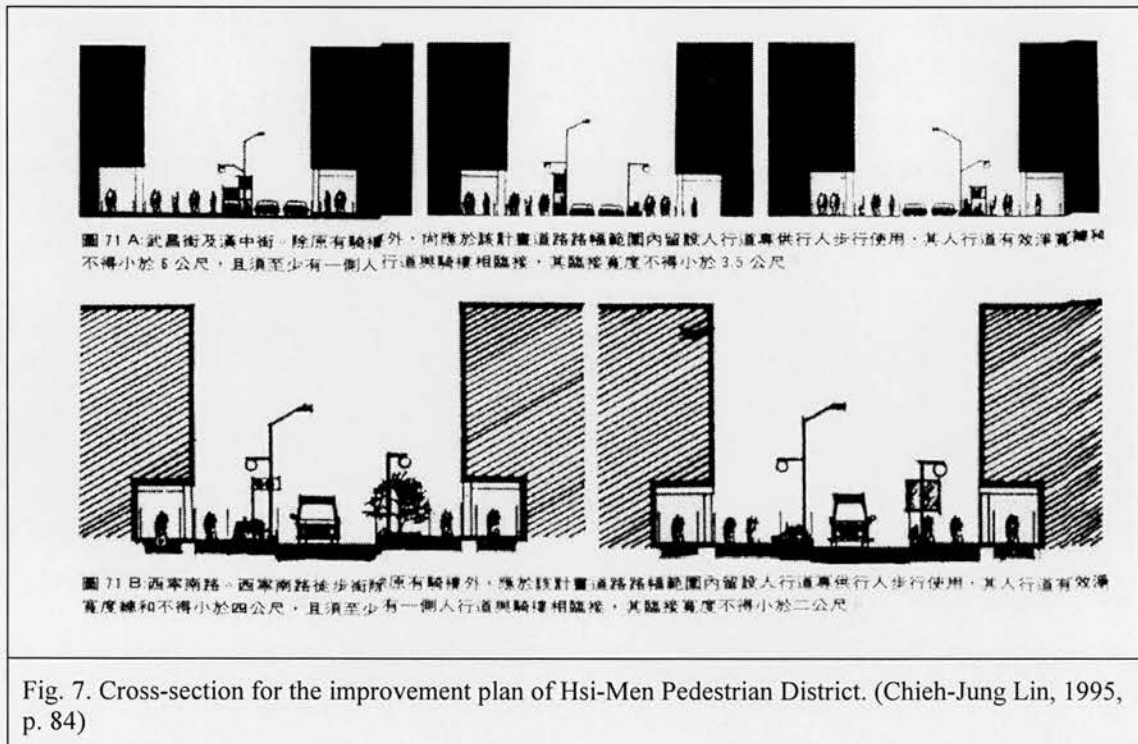


Fig. 6. Proposal for the improvement of the Historic Capital Centre District. This plan includes the old Taipei Castle and its surroundings. (UDDT, The Developmental Concept for the Taipei Historic Capital Centre District, 1996, p. 17)

<sup>7</sup> Tamkang University, *Historic Capital Centre District Final Report*, (Taipei City Government, June, 1996), p. 5-2.

4. Public space produced through private investment (e.g. Sogo Department Stores and Hsi-Men Pedestrian District): Hsi-Men Pedestrian District was set up to improve the local business and traffic condition around this area firstly in 1985, and then in 1990 and again 1992. This area used to be the major shopping and business centre of Taipei before the prosperous East District took its place. The first improvement plan in 1985 included: i) a space plan focused on paving, street furniture, and planting of the pedestrian zone. ii) a traffic plan defined the boundary of the traffic-controlled area and improved the circulation of this area. (Fig. 7)



iii) civic participation: the city government invited people from the architectural profession to design and participate in activities, including street performances and exhibitions. This plan was the first instance of civic participation put into practice in the design process and suggested the organisation of a private management committee of Hsi-Men Pedestrian District for its future maintenance.

These plans for improving space, traffic and activities created the spatial form of this area motivated by the commercial concern of policy makers. They did not last long

after losing political attention and proper management. (Fig. 8) The plan was reviewed in 1987 when a group of local shop owners, business leaders and residents set up the Improvement Association of Hsi-Men Commercial Centre for the renewal of the area. Their efforts forced the government to revise this plan in 1990. (Fig. 9)



Fig. 8. The first experimental design of public space at the Hsi-Men Pedestrian District in 1985. However, this provided a temporary solution rather than a long-term plan. (Chieh-Jung Lin, 1995, p. 86)



Fig. 9. In 1990, a revised plan of Hsi-Men Pedestrian District including the improvement plan for billboards and shop signs. (Photo by author, 1998)

Unfortunately, the Management Committee of Hsi-Men Pedestrian District did not have the legal power to make shop owners maintain the environment in the way proposed. Therefore, this area soon lost its business attraction again due to the low quality of maintenance of space. In 1992, the Urban Design Department chose this district to promote the Beautifying Plan of the Advertisement Board. The Management Committee of Hsi-Men Pedestrian District also participates in renewing and redesigning the street lighting and other street furniture.<sup>81</sup> Private capital plays an important role in upgrading the image of this commercial area and demonstrates how the development of cityscape and changing social conditions of Taipei can be recognised through its commercial landscape.

Encouraged by the Urban Design Department, the projects for “Remaking the Neighbourhood Environment and Public Space,” produced through private investments, involved community demonstration and civic participation and emphasised the social influence on the shaping of urban space. These efforts

<sup>8</sup> Chien-Jung Lin, *Urban Design*, pp. 84-91.

introduce the issue of social interaction into the urban design process. "Authenticity" should be included as a practical concern of urban design for Taipei because the city is experiencing a dramatic transformation and consequently has lost many of its physical characteristics. What this analysis can offer is a broad understanding of our complex cityscape where all social, political, economic factors interact and respond to the daily life of the citizens.